

Ecclesia Restaurata, ovvero
l' Istoria della Riformazione della Chiesa
dell' Inghilterra, contenente i principj, i progressi,
ed i successi di detta Riforma, i consigli da quali
fù regolata, le Regole di pietà, e di prudenza su
quali fù fondata, e varie altre cose per le quali
fù promossa, ò risardata dalle mutazioni accadute,
dalle prime preparazioni di detta Riforma sotto
Enrico VIII. fino alla Legittima Costituzione,
e stabilimento della medesima sotto la Regina
Elisabetta: insieme colle azioni civili, ed a' fini di
Stato, i quali ò erano incidenti colla riforma, ò a
quella appartenevano da Pietro Heylyn

ECCLESIA RESTAURATA;
 OR, THE
HISTORY
 OF THE
 REFORMATION of the CHURCH
 OF
ENGLAND:



CONTAINING
 The *Beginning, Progress, and Successes* of it; the *Counsels*,
 by which it was conducted; the *Rules of Piety*, and Prudence,
 upon which it was Founded; the several Steps, by which it was
 promoted, or retarded, in the Change of Times:

FROM
 The first Preparations to it by King HENRY the Eighth,
 untill the Legal Settling, and Establishment of it under
 Queen ELIZABETH:



TOGETHER
 With the Intermixture of such *Civil Actions*, and *Affairs*
 of State, as either were Co-incident with it,
 or related to it.



By PETER HEYLYN.



LONDON,

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 MDCLXI.

THE
OFFICE OF THE
SHERIFF OF THE COUNTY OF
SHERBORN

IN THE
MIDDLESEX COUNTY COURT

IN THE
MIDDLESEX COUNTY COURT

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To the Most Sacred

MAJESTY

OF KING

CHARLES

THE SECOND.

Most Gracious Sovereign,



*T*was an usual Saying of King JAMES (Your Majestie's most Learned Grand-Father) of Blessed Memory, that, Of all the Churches in the World, He knew not any which came nearer to the Primitive Pattern, for Doctrine, Government, and Worship, then the Reformed Church of England.

A Saying, which He built not upon Fancy, and Affection onely; but on such Just, and Solid Reasons, as might sufficiently endear it to all Knowing Men. The Truth, and Certainty whereof, will be made apparent by the following History, which here, in all Humility, is offered to Your Majestie's View. It is (Dread Sir) an History of the Reformation of the Church of ENGLAND, with all the Various Fortunes, and Successes of it, from the first Agitations in Religion under HENRY the Eight (which served for a Preamble thereunto) until the Legal Settling, and Establishment of it by the great Queen ELIZABETH, of Happy Memory. A Piece not to be Dedicated to any other, then Your Sacred Majesty; who, being rais'd by God, to be a Nursing-Father to this part of His Church, may possibly discharge that

The Epistle Dedicatory.

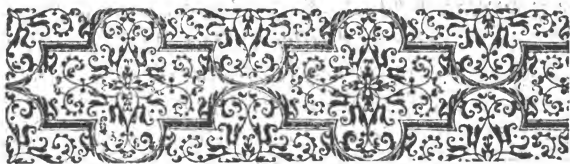
Duty with the Greater Tenderneſs, when You ſhall finde upon what Rules of Piety, and Chriſtian Prudence, the Work was carried on by the firſt Reformers. Which being once found, it will be no hard matter to determine of ſuch Means, and Counſels, whereby the Church may be reſtored to her Peace, and Purity; from which She is moſt miſerably fallen by our late Diſtractions. It cannot be denied, but that ſome Tares grew up almoſt immediatly with the Wheat it ſelf; and ſeem'd ſo ſpecious to the Eye, in the Blade, or Stalk, that they were taken by ſome Credulous, and Conſiding Men, for the better Grain. But ſtill they were no more then Tares, diſtinguiſhed eaſily in the Fruits (the Fruits of Errour, and Faſſe Doctrine, of Faction, Schiſm, Diſorder, and perhaps Sedition) from the LORD's good Seed. And, being of an abſcr. ſowing (a Superſemination, as the Vulgar reads it) and ſown on purpoſe by a Cunning, and Induſtrious Enemy, to raiſe an Harveſt to himſelf, they neither can pretend to the ſame Antiquity, and much leſs to the Purity of that Sacred Seed, with which the Field was ſown, at firſt, by the Heavenly Husband-man. I leave the Application of this Parable to the following Hiſtory, and ſhall conclude with this Addreſs to Almighty God; That, as He hath reſtored Your Majeſty to the Throne of Your Father, and done it in ſo ſtrange a manner, as makes it ſeem a Miracle in the Eyes of Chriſtendom; ſo He would ſettle You in the ſame, on ſo ſure a Bottom, that no Deſign of Miſchievous, and Unquiet Men may diſturb Your Peace, or detract any thing from thoſe Felicities, which You have acquired. So prayeth,

Dread Sovereign,

Your Majeſtic's moſt obedient Servant,

and moſt Loyal Subject,

PETER HEYLYN.



To the Reader.

READER,

Here present thee with a Piece of as great variety, as can be easily comprehended in so narrow a compass; the History of an Affair of such Weight, and Consequence, as had a powerful Influence on the rest of *Christendome*: It is an History of the *Reformation* of the Church of *England*, from the first Agitations in Religion under *HENRY the Eighth*, untill the final settling, and establishing of it (in Doctrine, Government, and Worship) under the Fortunate, and most Glorious Reign of Queen *ELIZABETH*. Nor hast thou here a bare Relation onely of such Passages, as those Times afforded, but a discovery of those Counsels, by which the Action was conducted; the Rules of Piety and Prudence, upon which it was carryed; the several steps, by which it was promoted, or retarded in the Change of Times; together with the Intercurrence of such civil Concernments, both at home, and abroad, as either were co-incident with it, or related to it. So that We may affirm of this present History, as *Florus* doth of his *Compendium* of the *Roman Stories*, *Ut non tam populi unius, quam totius generis humani*; that is to say, That it contains not onely the Affairs of one State, or Nation, but, in a manner, of the greatest part of all Civil Governments. The Work first hinted by a Prince of an undanted Spirit, the Master of as great a Courage, as the World had any; and, to say truth, the Work required it: He durst not else have grapled with that mighty Adversary, who, claiming to be Successour to St. *Peter* in the *See* of *Rome*, and *Vicar*

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General to *Christ* over all the Church, had gained unto himself an absolute Sovereignty over all Christian Kings and Princes in the *Western Empire*: But this King being violently hurried with the transport of some private Affections, and finding that the *Pope* appeared the greatest Obstacle to his desires, he first divested him by degrees of that Supremacy, which had been challenged, and enjoyed by his Predecessours for some Ages past; and finally, extinguished His Authority in the Realm of *England*, without noise, or trouble; to the great admiration and astonishment of the rest of the Christian World. This opened the first way to the *Reformation*, and gave encouragement to those, who inclined unto it: To which the King afforded no small Countenance, out of Politick Ends, by suffering them to have the Bible in the *English* Tongue, and to enjoy the benefit of such Godly *Tractates*, as openly discovered the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*. But, for his own part, he adhered to his old Religion, severely persecuted those, who dissented from it, and dyed (though Excommunicated) in that Faith, and Doctrine, which he had sucked in, as it were, with his Mother's Milk; and of the which he shew'd himself so stout a Champion against *Martin Luther*, in his first Quarrels with the *Pope*.

Next comes a *Minor* on the stage, just, mild and gracious; whose Name was made a Property to serve turns withall, and his Authority abused (as commonly it happeneth on the like occasions) to his own undoing. In his first year, the *Reformation* was resolved on, but on different ends; endeavoured by some Godly Bishops, and other Learned and Religious Men of the lower Clergy, out of Judgment & Conscience; who managed the Affair according to the Word of God, the Practice of the Primitive Times, the general current and consent of the old Catholick Doctours; but not without an Eye to such Foreign Churches, as seemed to have most consonancy to the antient Forms: Promoted with like Zeal, and Industry, but not with like Integrity, and Christian Candour, by some great men about the Court; who, under colour of removing such Corruptions, as remained in the Church, had cast their Eyes upon the spoil of Shrines, and Images (though still preserved in the greatest part of the *Lutheran Churches*) and the improving of their own *Fortunes* by the *Chantery-Lands*: All which, most sacrilegiously they divided amongst themselves, without admitting the poor King to his share therein; though nothing but the filling of his Coffers, by the spoil of the one, and the encrease of his Revenue,

Revenue, by the fall of the other, was openly pretended in the Conduct of it. But separating this *Obliquity* from the main Intendment, the Work was vigorously carryed on by the King, and his Councellours; as appears clearly by the *Docket* in the *Book of Homilies* and by the *Practical part of Christian Piety*, in the first *Publick Liturgie* confirmed by *Act of Parliament*, in the second and third year of this King; and in that *Act* (and, which is more, by *Fox* himself) affirmed to have been done by the especial aid of the *Holy Ghost*. And here the business might have rested, if *Cæsar's Pragmatical Spirit* had not interposed: He first began to quarrel at some passages in this *Sacred Liturgie* and afterwards never left soliciting the *Lord Protector*, and practising by his *Agents* on the Court, the Countrey, and the Universities, till he had laid the first Foundation of the *Zuinglian Faction*, who laboured nothing more, then Innovation both in *Doctrine*, and *Discipline*. To which they were encouraged by nothing more, then some improvident Indulgence granted unto *John A-Lasco*; Who bringing with him a mixt multitude of *Poles*, and *Germans*, obtained the Privilege of a Church for himself and his distinct in Government, and Forms of Worship, from the Church of *England*.

This gave a powerful animation to the *Zuinglian Gospellers* (as they are called by Bishop *Hooper*, and some other Writers) to practise first upon the Church; who being countenanced, if not headed by the Earl of *Warwick* (who then began to undermine the *Lord Protector*) first quarrelled the *Episcopal Habit*, and afterwards inveighed against *Caps*, and *Surplices*, against *Gowns* and *Tippets*; but fell at last upon the *Altars*, which were left standing in all Churches by the Rules of the *Liturgie*. The touching on this string made excellent Musick to most of the *Grandeens* of the Court, who had before cast many an envious Eye on those costly Hangings, the *Massie Plate*, and other rich and precious Urensil, which adorned those Altars. And *What need all this waste?* said *Judas*; when one poor Chalice onely, and perhaps not that, might have served the turn. Besides, there was no small spoil to be made of *Copes*, in which the Priest officiated at the *Holy Sacrament*; some of them being made of Cloth of *Tyssue*, of Cloth of Gold and Silver, or embroidered Velvet; the meanest being made of Silk, or *Satin*, with some decent Trimming. And might not these be handsomely converted unto private uses, to serve as *Carpets* for their Tables, *Coverlids*

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verlids to their Beds, or Cushions to their Chairs, or Windows. Here-upon some rude People are encouraged under-hand to beat down some Altars, which makes way for an Order of the *Council-Table*, to take down the rest, and set up Tables in their places; Followed by a Commission, to be executed in all parts of the Kingdom, for seising on the *Premises* to the use of the *King*. But as the *Grandeës* of the Court intended to defraud the King of so great a Booty, and the Commissioners to put a Cheat upon the Court-Lords, who employed them in it: So they were both prevented in some places by the Lords, and Gentry of the Countrey, who thought the Altar-Cloths, together with the Copes, and Plate of their several Churches, to be as necessary for themselves, as for any others. This Change drew on the Alteration of the former *Liturgie*, reviewed by certain Godly *Prelates*, reduced almost into the same Form, in which now it stands, and confirmed by *Parliament* in the 5th and 6th years of this King; but almost as unpleasing to the *Zuinglian Faction*, as the former was. In which Conjunction of Affairs dyed King *Edward the Sixth*. From the beginning of whose Reign, the Church accounts the *Epoche* of a *Reformation*. All, that was done in order to it, under *Henry the Eighth*, seemed to be accidental only, and by the by, rather designed on private Ends, then out of any settled purpose to *Reform the Church*, and therefore intermitted, and resumed again, as those Ends had variance. But now the Work was carried on with a constant Hand, the *Prelates of the Church* co-operating with the *King* and his *Council*, and each contending with the other, for the Honour of it. Scarce had they brought it to this pass, when King *Edward* dyed, whose Death I cannot reckon for an Infelicity to the Church of *England*: For being ill-principled in himself, and easily inclined to embrace such Counsels as were offered to Him; it is not to be thought, but that the rest of the *Bishopricks* (before sufficiently impoverished) must have followed *Durham*, and the poor Church be left as destitute of Lands, and Ornaments, as when she came into the World in Her Natural Nakedness. Nor was it like to happen otherwise in the following Reign, if it had lasted longer than a *Nine Day's Wonder*. For *Dudley of Northumberland*, who then ruled the Roast, and had before dissolved, and in hope devoured, the Wealthy *Bishoprick of Durham*, might easily have possessed himself of the greatest part of the Revenues of *York*, and *Carlisle*. By means whereof, He would have made himself more absolute on the North-side of the *Trent*, then the poor

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poor Titular Queen (a most virtuous Lady) could have been suffered to continue on the South side of it. To carry on whose Interests, and maintain Her Title, the poor remainder of the Church's Patrimony was, in all probability, to have been shared amongst those of that Party, to make them sure unto the side. But the *Wisdom* of this great *Achitophel*, being turned to *foolishness*, He fell into the Hands of the Publick Hang-man, and thereby saved himself the labour of becoming his own Executioner.

Now *MARY* comes to Act Her Part, and She drives on furiously: Her Personal Interests had strongly byassed Her to the Church of Rome; On which depended the Validity of Her Mother's Marriage, and consequently Her own Legitimation, and Succession, to the Crown of this Realm. And it was no hard matter for Her, in a time unsettled, to Repeal all the Acts of Her Brother's Reign, and after to restore the Pope unto that Supremacy, of which Her Father had deprived Him. A Reign Calamitous, and unfortunate to Her Self, and Her Subjects; Unfortunate to Her Self in the loss of *Calais*; Calamitous to Her Subjects, by many Insurrections, and Executions; but more by the effusion of the Blood of so many *Martyrs*. For though she gave a Check to the Rapacity of the former Times; yet the Professours of the Reformation paid dearly for it, whose Blood she caused to be poured forth, like Water, in most parts of the Kingdom; but no where more abundantly, then in *Bonner's Slaughter-House*: Which being within the view of the Court, and under Her own Nose (as the Saying is) must needs entitle Her to a great part of those Horrid Cruelties, which almost every day were acted by that bloody Butcher. The Schism at *Frankfort* took beginning in the same time also, occasioned by some Zealots of the *Zuinglian* Faction; who needs must lay aside the use of the Publick Liturgie (retained by all the rest of the English Exiles) the better to make way for such Forms of Worship, as seemed more consonant to *Calvin's* Platform, and the Rules of *Geneva*:

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Which

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Which woful *Schism*, so wretchedly begun in a *Foreign Nation*, they laboured to promote by all sinister Practises in the Church of *England*, when they returned from *Exile* in the following *Reign*. The miserable Effects whereof we feel too sensibly and smartly, to this very day.

But the great *Buliness* of this *Reign* related to the restitution of the *Abbey-Lands* endeavoured earnestly by the *Queen*, and no less strenuously opposed by the then present Owners, who had all the reason in the World to maintain that Right, which by the known *Laws of the Land*, had been vested in them. For when the *Monasteries*, and *Religious Houses*, had been dissolved by several *Acts of Parliament*, in the time of *King Henry*; the Lands belonging to those *Houses* were, by those *Acts*, conferr'd upon the *King* and His Successours, *Kings*, and *Queens of England*. Most of which Lands were either exchanged for others with the *Lords*, and *Gentry*, or sold, for valuable Consideration, to the rest of the Subjects. All which *Exchanges*, *Grants*, and *Sales*, were passed, and Confirmed by the *King's Letters Patents*, under the *Great Seal of England*, in due Form of Law; Which gave unto the *Patentees* as good a Title, as the Law could make them. This was well known unto the *Pope*, and He knew well upon what ticklish *Terms* He stood with the *Lords*, and *commons*, then Assembled in *Parliament*; whom if He did not gratifie with some Signal Favour, He could not hope to be restored by them to His former Power: for, being deprived of His *Supremacy* by *Act of Parliament* in the Time of *King HENRY*, He could not be restored unto it, but by *Act of Parliament* in the time of *Queen MARY*; and no such *Act* could be obtained, or compassed for Him, without a Confirmation of *Church-Lands* to the present Owners. To which Necessity *Pope Julius* being forced to submit Himself, He issueth a *Decree*, accompanied with some *Reasons*, which might seem to induce Him to it, for confirming all such *Lands* on the present Occupants, of which they stood possessed
(justo

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(*justo Titulo*) by a Lawful Title. And this was onely reckon-
ed by him for a Lawful Title ; First, that they were possessed of
the said Lands (*juxta Leges hujus Regni pro tempore
existentes*) according to the Laws of the Land which were then in
force ; whether by Purchase, or by Gift, or in the way of Exchange :
which are the words of the Decree. And secondly, If the
said Lands were warranted, and confirmed unto them, by Letters
Patents from the two last Kings ; (*qui per literas Patentes easdem
Terras Warrantizant*) as is declared in the Second of the
following Reasons. For which Consult the Book , En-
titled, No Sacrilege, nor Sin, to purchase Cathedral-Lands,
&c. page 52. Where still observe, that nothing made
a Lawful Title in the Pope's Opinion, but the King's Let-
ters Patents, grounded on the Laws of the Land, as is ex-
pressed more clearly in the former Passages. But this can
no way serve the Turn of some present Purchasers, though
much insisted on by one of that number, to justify his de-
facing of an Episcopal Palace, and his pretensions to the
Wealthy Borough, which depended on it ; For, certainly,
there must needs be a vast disproportion between such
Contracts, as were founded upon Acts of Parliament, Legally
passed by the King's Authority, with the Consent, and Ap-
probation of the Three Estates, and those, which have no
other Ground, but the bare Votes, and Orders, of both Houses
onely, and perhaps not that. And by this Logick, he
may as well justify the late horrid Murder committed
on the most incomparable Majesty of King CHARLES
the First, as stand upon the making good of such Grants,
and Sales, as were contracted for, with some of those very
Men, who Voted to the setting up of the High Court of Ju-
stice, as most ridiculously, they were pleased to call it :
When I shall see him do the one, I must bethink myself
of some further Arguments to refute the other.

And so Queen MARY makes Her Exit, and leaves the
Stage to Queen ELIZABETH, Her younger sister ;
A Princess, which had long been trained up in the
Schole

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School of Experience, and knew the Temper of the People, whom She was to Govern; who, having generally embraced the Reformed Religion, in the Time of Her Brother, most passionately desired the Enjoyment of it under Her Protection; And She accordingly resolved to satisfy the Piety of their Desire, as soon as She had Power, and Opportunity, to go thorough with it. In Prosecution of which Work, She raised Her whole Fabric on the same Foundation, which had been lay'd by the Reformers in the Reign of King EDWARD; that is to say, the Word of God, the Practise of the Primitive Times, the General Current of the Fathers, and the Example of such Churches, as seemed to retain most in them of the Antient Forms. But then She added thereunto such an equal mixture, both of Strength, and Beauty, as gave great Lustre to the Church, and drew along with it many rare Felicities on the Civil State, both Extraordinary in themselves, and of long Continuance, as the most Excellent King JAMES (*) hath right-well observed: So that We may affirm of the Reformation of the Church of England, as the Historian (*) doth of the Power and Greatness of the Realm of Macedon; that is to say, that The same Arts, by which the first Foundations of it were laid by PHILIP, were practised in the Consummation, and Accomplishment of it, by the Care of ALEXANDER. For, in the first Year of Her Reign, the Liturgie, being first Reviewed, and qualified in some Particulars, was confirmed by PARLIAMENT; in Her first Year, the Articles of Religion were agreed upon the Convocation; and in the Eight, the Government of the Church, by Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, received as strong a Confirmation, as the Laws could give it. And, for this last, We are beholden unto BUNNER, the late Bishop of LONDON, who being called upon, to take the OATH of Supremacie, by HORN of Winton, refused to take the OATH, upon this Account, because HORN's
Cons.

* In His
Proclamation of
March 5th
1603.
* Quibus ar-
tibus Imperii
fundamenta
locavit Pa-
ter, eisdem
operis totius
gloriam con-
summavit
Filius. Just.
lib. 6.

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Consecration was not good, and valid, by the *Laws* of the Land: Which he insisted on, because the *Ordinal*, Established in the Reign of King *EDWARD*, (by which both *HORN*, and all the rest of Queen *ELIZABETH*'s Bishops received *Consecration*) had been discharged by Queen *MARY*, and not restored by any *Act* of Parliament in the present Reign. Which being first declared by *PARLIAMENT*, in the Eighth of this Queen, to be *Casus omissus*, or rather, that the *Ordinal* was looked upon, as a part of the *Liturgie*, which had been solemnly confirmed in the first of this Queen's Reign, they next *Enacted*, and *Ordained*, That "all such Bishops, as were Consecrated by that *Ordinal*, in the Times precedent, or should be Consecrated by it, in the time to come, should be reputed, to be lawfully Ordained, and Consecrated, to all Intents, and Purposes, in the Law, whatever. Which added as much Strength to the *Episcopal Government*, as the Authority of Man, and an *Act* of Parliament, could possibly Confer upon it. This made the Queen more constant to Her former Principles, of keeping up the Church in its Power, and Purity, without subjecting it to any, but Her Self alone: She looked upon Her Self, as the Sole Fountain of both *Jurisdictions*, which She resolved to keep in their proper Channells; neither permitting them to mingle Waters upon any occasion, nor suffering either of them to invade, and destroy the other. And to this Rule She was so constant, that when one *Morrice*, being then Attorney of the *Dutchy* of Lancaster, had offered a *Bill*, ready drawn, to the *House* of Commons, in the Thirty Fifth of Her Reign, for the Retrenching of the *Ecclesiastical Courts*, in much Narrower Bounds; She first commanded *Coke*, then Speaker, (and afterwards successively Chief Justice of either Bench) not to admit of any such Seditious *Bills*, for the time to come. And, that being done, She caused the person of the said Attorney to be seized upon, deprived him

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of

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of his Place in the *Dutchy-Court*, disabled him from Practising as a *Common-Lawyer*; and, finally, shut him up in *Tutbury-Castle*; where he continued till his Death. By which Severity, and keeping the like Constant Hand in the Course of Her Government, She held so great a Curb on the *Puritan Faction*, that neither Her *Parliaments*, nor Her Courts of Justice, were from thenceforth much troubled with them, in the rest of Her Reign.

This is the Sum, and Method, of the following *History*; in the Particulars whereof thou wilt finde more to satisfie thy Curiosity, and inform thy Judgment, then can be possibly drawn up in this General View. As for my Self, and my performance in this Work: in the first place, I am to tell thee, that, towards the raising of this *Fabrick*, I have not borrowed my Materials onely out of *Vulgar Authors*, but searched into the Registers of the Convocation; consulted all such Acts of Parliament, as concerned my Purpose, advised with many Foreign Writers, of great Name, and Credit, exemplified some Records, and Charters, of no common Quality, many rare Pieces in the famous *Cottonian Library*, and not a few Debates; and Orders, of the Council-Table, which I have laid together in as good a Form, and beautified it with a Trimming as agreeable, as my hands could give it. And, next, I am to let thee know, that, in the whole Carriage of this Work, I have assumed unto my Self the Freedom of a *Just Historian*; concealing nothing out of Fear, nor speaking any thing for Favour: delivering nothing for a Truth without good Authority; but so delivering that Truth, as to witness for me, that I am neither byassed by Love, or Hatred, (*) nor over-swayed by Partiality, and corrupt Affections: If I seem tart at any time, as sometimes I may, it is but in such Cases onely, and on such occasions, in which there is no good to be done by Lenitives, and where the *Tumour* is so putrified, as to need a Lancing For, in this Case, a true *Historian* must have somewhat in him of

(*) *Nec odio, nec amore, disturbo aliquid, &c.*
Tacit. *Hist.*
lib. i.

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of the good Samaritan, in using Wine, or Vineger, to cleanse the Wound, as well as Oyl to qualifie the Grief of the Inflammation. I know it is impossible (even in a Work of this Nature) to please all Parties, though I have made it my Endeavour to disatisfie none, but those, that *hate to be reformed*, in the *Psalmist's* Language; or otherwise are so tenaciously wedded to their own Opinions, that neither Reason, nor Authority, can divorce them from it. And thus (*good Reader*) I commend thee to the Blessings of God, whom I beseech to guide thee in the way to Eternal Life, amongst those intricate Windings, and uncertain Turnings, those Crooked Lanes, and Dangerous Precipices, which are round about thee. And so fare thee well.

From Westminster,
October the 20th.
1660.

An Advertisement to the Reader.

THe Reader is to be informed of a mistake occurring in the first part of this History, folio 126, where it is said that no care had been taken for translating the English Liturgy into the Irish tongue for the use of that Church from that day to this. Whereas it hath been since translated into that language, and recommended to the people for Gods publique service, though not so generally made use of as it ought to be; Neither the Bible, nor the book of Homilies being yet translated, which makes the Liturgy imperfect, and the whole service of the Church defective in the maine parts of it. The Reader also is to know, that since these sheets were upon the Presse the Lord Marquess of *Hartford* mentioned part 1 folio 5. was made Duke of *Somerset*, and Doctor *William Juxon* Bishop of *London* mentioned part 2 folio 84 is preferred to *Canebury*. Such other things as stand in neede of any correction are summed up in the following Errataes.

The Errata of the Preface.

Folio 1 line 1 for variel, reade variety. p. 4. l. 13. f. reduced r. and reduced. p. 4. l. 24. f. contriving, r. contending. l. 20. f. by the by, r. on the By. p. 6. l. 2. f. first, r. fitt.

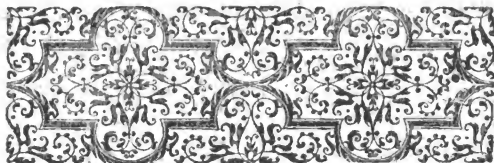
The Errata of the first part.

P. 3. l. 29. f. Baron, r. Baronet. p. 10. l. 13. f. mary wife, r. marquise. p. 17. l. 13. f. imposed, r. debased. p. 54. l. 40. f. advancing, r. abandoning. p. 61. l. 14. f. Duke all, r. Dukes fall. p. 119. l. 24. Goodwine, r. Goodrith. p. 130. l. 30. f. Campden, r. Camden. p. 131. for keeping him both beforehand, &c. r. for keeping him from being both beforehand, &c. p. 134. l. 28. f. allwaite, r. all or. p. 135. l. 48. f. Lorain, r. Lovain. p. 137. l. 21. f. Cabol. r. Cabor. ibidem l. 23. Darralaos, r. Daccalaos, and f. Canada, r. Canada. p. 138. l. 39. f. Epy, r. Spie. p. 140. l. 39. for on the Church, r. in the Church. p. 141. l. 44. f. redemption, r. exception. p. 150. l. 34. f. venturer, r. ventes, p. 151. l. 6. for vertues, r. his vertues. p. 152. l. 31. for thus, r. the. p. 152. l. 43. for Gale, r. Gates. p. 154. l. 4. for pay, r. play. p. 155. l. 32. for hands, r. Bands. p. 158. l. 35. for rules, r. Rule. p. 160. l. 6. for letters, r. fetters. l. 28. for the heires, r. by the heires. l. 41. for Jenningham, r. Jeruingham. p. 165. l. 23. de/c possibly. p. 168. l. 46. for blowes in the second place, r. b'ood.

Errata on the second part.

P. 81. l. 15. for bayden, r. bugden. p. 20. l. 39. for lending, r. according. p. 20. l. 40. for poyner, r. poynct. p. 25. l. 12. for Poyner, r. Poynct. p. 27. l. 4. for 300. r. 800. p. 36. l. 24. for alienis r. alternis. p. 38. l. 24. for impudence, r. imprudence. p. 49. l. 15. for there, r. thereof. p. 54. l. 23. for prejudiced, r. premised. p. 74. l. 32. for Artavasides, r. Artavasdes. p. 79. l. 25. for Farum, r. hames. p. 81. l. 1. de 1559. p. 82. l. 13. for presented, r. pericuted. p. 83. l. 40. for purefew, r. parfew. p. 103. l. 39. for petite, r. petie. p. 109. l. 7. for a pover, r. that is to say a pover. p. 121. l. 44. for Dale r. vale. p. 121. l. 30. for any of, r. any two of. p. 121. l. 2. for zeal r. weale. p. 124. l. 13. for. Oxon, r. Exon. p. 126. l. 15. for with Knox, r. & Knox. p. 173. l. 16. for fail r. failer. 156. l. 46. for Bishop, r. Bishop of Britlow. p. 165. l. 13. das they all did. p. 179. col. 1. for one substance, r. of one substance. p. 181. col. 1. ant 8. for tur from God. r. far gon.

An. 1536



T H E
P A R E N T A G E , B I R T H , a n d F I R S T
F O R T U N E S o f P R I N C E

E D W A R D ,

The onely surviving Son of King
HENRY the Eighth , before
his coming to the

C R O W N .

VVith the Condition of Affaires both in
Church and State , at his first
Coming to the same .



P R I N C E *Edward*, the onely surviving son of King *Henry* the Eighth, was born at the Royall Palace of *Hampton Court*, on the twelfth day of *October*, Anno 1537. Descended from his Father, by the united Families of *Tork* and *Lancaster*; by his Grandfather King *Henry* the seventh, from the old Royall Line of the Kings of *Wales*; by his Grand-Mother Queen *Elizabeth*, the eldest daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, from a long continued Race of Kings, descending from the Loynes of the *Norman Conqueror*; and finally by *Maud*, the wife of King *Henry* the first, from *Edmond*, surnamed *Iron side*, the last unquestionable King (as to the Right of his Succession) of the *Saxon Race*; so that all Titles seemed to be Concentred in the Person of this Infant Prince, which Might assure the Subjects of a Peaceable, and un-troubled Rèigne, so much the more, because his Mothers Marriage was not subject unto any Dispute (as were those of the two former Queens) whereby the Legitimation of her Issue might be called in question.

B

tion.

An. 1536. *tion*: An happinesse, which recompensed all descents that might be otherwise pretended against her Birth, not answerable unto that of so Great a Monarch, and short in some respects of that of her Predecessor, in the Kings affections; though of a Family truly Noble, and of great Antiquity. Concerning which, it will be necessary to Premise somewhat in this place, not only for the setting forth of this Queens Progenitours, but that we may the better understand the State of that Family, which was to Act so great a part on the Stage of England.

Know then, that Queen *Jane Seimour*, was Daughter of *S. John Seimour*, of *Wolfe-Hall*, in the County of *Wils.* Descended from that *William de S. Mauro* (contractedly afterwards called *Seimour*) who by the Aide of *Gilbert Lord Marshall*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, recovered *Wenay*, and *Penbow*, (now parts of *Monmouth shire*) from the hands of the *Welsh*, Anno. 1240, being the two and twentieth yeare of King *Henry* the thirds Reign; which *William*, as he descended lineally from the d' *Santo Mauro*, whose name we find in the Roll of *Battle Abbey*, amongst those Noble Families which came in with the Conquerour; so was he one of the Progenitours of that *S. Roger*, *S. Maur*, or *Seimour*, Knight, who married one of the daughters, and Heires of *John Beauchamp* of *Hach*, a right Noble Baron, who brought his Pedigree from *Sybill*, one of the five daughters, and Heires of *William Marshall*, the famous, and most puissant Earle of *Pembrooke*, married to *William de Herrars*, Earle of *Herrars* and *Darby*, as also from *Hugh d' Vivon*, and *William Mallet*, men in times past most Renowned, for Estate and Chivalry; which goodly Patrimony was afterwards very much augmented, by the marriage of one of this Noble Family, with the Daughter, and Heire of the *Esturmes*, Lords of *Wolfe-Hall*, not far from *Marleborough*, in the County of *Wils.*, who bare for Armes, Argent, 3. *Dimie Lions*, Gules; And from the time of King *Henry* the second, were by right of inheritance, the Bayliffes and Guardians of the Forrest of *Savernak*, lying hard by; which is of great note for plenty of Good Game, and for a kind of Ferne there, that yieldeth a most pleasant savour: In remembrance whereof, their Hunters Horne, of a mighty bigness, and tipt with silver, is kept by the Earles of *Hartford* unto this day, as a Monument of their Descent from such Noble Ancestors. Out of which house came Sir *John Seimour*, of *Wolfe-Hall*, the Father of this Excellent Queen; as also of three sons, *Edward*, *Henry*, and *Thomas*; of which we shall speak somewhat severally in the way of Preamble, the first and last being Principal Actors on the Publique Theatre of King *Edward*'s Reigne.

And first, Sir *Edward Seymour*, the Eldest son, received the Order of Knighthood at the hands of *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and brother in law to King *Henry* the Eighth. In the fifteenth yeare of whose Reign, he Commanded a Right puissant Army in a War with *France*, where he took the Town of *Mont Deder*, and other pieces of Importance. On this foundation he began the rise of his following Fortunes, exceedingly improved by the Mariage of the King with his only sister, from whom, on Tuesday in *Whitsun* week, Anno 1536. he received the Title of Viscount *Beauchamp*, with reference to his Descent, from the Lord *John Beauchamp*, above mentioned, and on the eighteenth of *October*, in the yeare next following he was created Earle of *Hartford*. A man observed by Sir *John Haywood*, in his History of *K. Edward* the sixth, to be of little esteem for Wisdom, Personage, or Courage in Armes; but found withall, not onely to be very fairfull, but exceeding fortunate, as long as he served under the more Powerfull Planet of King *Henry* the eighth. About five yeares before the end of whose Reign, (He being then *Warden of the Marches* against *Scotland*) the invasion of *K. James* the sixth, was by his direction encountered, and broken at *Solme Messe*, where divers of the *Scottish* Nobility were taken Prisoners. In the next yeare after, accompanied with Sir *John Dudley*, Viscount *Lisle* (Created afterwards Earle of *Warwick*, and Duke of *Northumberland*, by King *Edward* the sixth, with a handfull of men he fired *Lieth*, and *Edinborough*,

Edinburgh, and returned by a leisurely March, 44. miles thorough the body of *An. 1536.*
Scotland. And in the year following he invaded the *Scottish* Borders, wasted *True*
dale, and the *Marches*, despoiling all those Parts with spoyle and ruine: As fortunate
in his undertakings against the *French*, as against the *Scots*, for, being appointed
by the King to view the Fortifications upon the *Marches of Callice*, he did not
onely perform that service to the Kings contentment, but with the hardy ap-
proach of 7000 *English* men, raised an Army of 21000. *French*. Encamped o-
ver the River, before *Bolloine*, won their Ordinance, Carriage, Trespure, and
Tents, with the loss only of one man; winning in his return from thence, the
Castle of *Ouling*, commonly called the *Red Pile*, within shot and rescue of the
Town of *Ardes*. And finally, in the yeare ensuing, (being the last of that
Kings Reign) he began the Fortresses of *New Haven*, *Blacknes*, and *Bul-*
lingberg; in which he plyed his worke so well, that before his departure from
those places, he had made them tenable. Such were his Actings in the time of
King *Henry* the Eighth, against whose Powerfull *Gemini*, there was no withstand-
ing. In all whose time, he never rose to any haughtiness in himselfe, or con-
tempt of others, but still remained courteous, and affable towards all; choosing
a course (least subject to envy) between stiff stubbornness, and servile flattery;
without aspiring any further, then to hold a second place in the Kings good
Grace. But, being left unto himselfe, and either overwhelmed by the Greatness
of that Authority which was cast upon him, in the Minority of King *Edward*,
or undermined by the practises of his cunning and malicious Enemies, he sud-
denly became (according to the usuall Disports of Fortune) a calamitous
ruine; as being in himselfe of an easie nature, apt to be wrought upon by more
subtle heads, and wholly Governed by his last wife, of which more hereafter.

If the mean time we are to know, that having married one of the daughters,
and Co-heires of *William Hilol*, of *Woodlands*, in the County of *Dorset*, he had,
by her, amongst other children, a son called *Edward*, from whom descends *Sir*
Edward Seimour of *Berrie Pomerie*, in the County of *Devon*, Knight, and Barronet;
After whose death he married *Ann*, the daughter of *Sir Edward Stan-*
hop, by whom he had a son, called *Edward* also, on whom he was prevailed with,
to entail both his Lands and Honours; the children of the former bed being
pretermitted. Concerning which there goes a story, that the Earle having been
formerly employed in *France* did there acquaint himselfe with a Learned man,
supposed to have great skill in *Magick*: of whom he obtained, by
great rewards, and importunities, to let him see, by the help of some Ma-
gicall perspective, in what Estate all his Relations stood at home. In which
impertinent curiosity, he was so farr satisfied, as to behold a Gentleman of his
acquaintance, in a more familiar posture with his wife, then was agreeable to the
Honour of either Party. To which Diabollicall Illusion, he is said to have gi-
ven so much credit, that he did not only estrange himselfe from her society at his
coming home, but furnished his next wife with an excellent opportunity for,
pressing him to the disinheriting of his former children. But whether this
were so or not, certain it is that his last wife, being a proud imperious woman,
and one that was resolved to gain her own ends upon him, never left plying him,
with one suspicion after another, till in the end she had prevailed to have the
greatest part of his lands, and all his Honourable Titles seized on her eldest son.
And that she might make sure work of it, she caused him to obtaine a private
Act of Parliament, in the 32. yeare of *Henry* the Eighth. *Anno 1540.* for en-
tailing the same on this last *Edward*, and the Heires male of his body. So easie
was he to be wrought on, by those that knew on which side he did lie most open
to assaults and batteries.

Of a farr different temper was his brother *Thomas*, the youngest sonne
of *Sir John Seimour*, of a daring and enterprising nature, arrogant
in himselfe, a dispenser of others, and a Contemner of all Counsellis,
which were not first forged in his own brain. Following his sister to the Court, he

An. 1536. he received the Order of Knighthood from the hands of the King, at such time as his brother was made Earle of *Hartford*, and on *May* day; in the thirtieth yeare of the Kings Reign; he was one of the Challengers at the Magnificent Jufts, maintained by him, and others, against all comers in the Pallace of *Westminster*; in which, together with the rest, he behaved himselfe so highly to the Kings contentment, and their own great Honour, that they were all severally rewarded with the Grant of 100. Marks of yearely rent, and a convenient house for habitation thereunto belonging, out of the late dissolved order of Saint *John of Jerusalem*. Which being the first foundation of his following greatness, proved not sufficient to support the building which was raised upon it; the Gentleman, and almost all the rest of the challengers, coming within few yeares after to unfortunate ends. For, being made Lord *Seimour* of *Sudley*, and Lord High Admirall of *England*, by King *Edward* the sixth, he would not satisfie his ambition with a lower marriage. then the widow of his deceased Sovereign, aspiring after her death to the bed of the Princess *Elizabeth*, the second daughter of the King. Which wrought such Jealousies, and distrusts in the Head of his brother, then being Lord Protector of the King, and Kingdom, that he was thereupon, Arraigned, Condemned, and Executed (of which more anon) to the great joy of such as practised to subvert them both. As for the Barrony of *Sudley*, denominated from a goodly Mannor, in the County of *Gloucester*, it was anciently the Patrimony of *Harrold*, the eldest Son of *Ralph d' Mont*, the son of *Walter*, (*Medantinus*, or *d' Mount*, and of *Geda* his wife, one of the daughters of *Ethilred*, and sister of *Edmond*, surnamed *Ironside*, Kings of *England*: whose Posterity taking to themselves the name of *Sudley*, continued in possession of it till the time of *John*, the last Baron of this name and Fam'y. VVhose daughter *Joane* conveyed the whole estate in marriage to Sir *William Botteler*, of the Family of *Wemms*, in *Shropshire*. From whom descended *Ralph*, Lord *Botteler*, of *Sudley* Castle, Chamberlain of the Household to King *Henry* the sixth, by whom he was created Knight of the Garter, and Lord High Treasurer of *England*. And though the greatest part of this Inheritance being divided between the sisters and co-heires, came to other Families, yet the Castle and Barony of *Sudley* remained unto a male of this house, untill the latter end of the Reign of King *Henry* the eighth, to whom it was escheated, by the Attainder of the last Lord *Botteler*, whose greatest Crime was thought to be this goodly Mannor, which some greedy Courtiers had an eye on. And being fallen unto the Crown, it was no hard matter for the Lord Protector to estate the same upon his brother; who was scarce warmed in his new Honour, when it fell into the Crown again. Where it continued all the rest of King *Edward*'s Reign, and by Queen *Mary* was conferred on Sir *John Bruges*, (who derived his Pedigree from one of the said sisters, and co-heires of *Ralph*, Lord *Botteler*) whom the ennobled, by the Title of Lord *Chaundos* of *Sudley*.

As for Sir *Henry Seimour*, the second son of Sir *John Seimour*, he was not found to be of so fine a metall as to make a Courtier, and was therefore left unto the life of a Country Gentleman; Advanced by the Power and favour of his elder Brother, to the order of Knighthood; and afterwards Estant in the Mannours of *Marvell*, and *Twyford*, in the County of *Southampton*, dismembered in those broken times from the see of *Winchester*. To each of these belonged a Park, that of the first containing no less then foure miles, that of the last but two in compass; the first being also Honoured with a goodly Mancion house, belonging anciently to those Bishops, and little inferior to the best of the Wealthy Bishopricks. There goes a story, that the Priest Officiating at the Altar, in the Church of *Onstebury* (of which Parish *Marvell* was a part) after the Mass had been abolished by the Kings Authority, was violently dragged thence by this Sir *Henry*, beaten, and most reproachfully handled by him, his servants universally refusing to serve him, as the instruments of his Rage and Fury; and that the poore Priest having after an opportunity to get into the Church,

Church, did openly curse the said Sir Henry, and his posterity, with Bell, Book, *An. 1536.* and Candle, according to the use observed in the Church of Rome. Which, whether it were so or not, or that the maine foundation of this Estate being laid on Sacrillidge, could promise no long blessing to it; Certain it is, that his posterity are brought beneath the degree of poverty. For, having three Nephewes, by Sir John Seimour, his only Son; that is to say, Edward, the eldest, Henry and Thomas, younger sons, besides severall daughters, there remains not to any of them one foot of Land, or so much as a penny of money to supply their necessities, but what they have from the Munificence of the Marquesse of Harrford, or the charity of other well disposed people, which have affection, or Relation to them.

But, the great ornament of this house, was their sister Jane, the only daughter of her father, by whose care she was preferred to the Court, and service of Queen Ann Bollen, where she out-shined all the other Ladies, and in short time had gained exceeding much on the King, a great admirer of Fresh Beauties, and such as could pretend unto no command on his own affections. Some Ladies who had seen the pictures of both Queenes at White Hall Gallery, have entertained no small dispute, to which of the two they were to give Preheminence in point of beauty; each of them having such a plentiful measure of Perfections, as to Entitle either of them to a Superiority. If Queen Ann seemed to have the more lively countenance, Queen Jane was thought to carry it in the exact symmetry, which showed it selfe in all her features; and what she carried on that side, by that advantage, was over-ballanced on the other by a pleasing sprightfulness, which gained as much upon the hearts of all beholders. It was conceived by those Great Critticks in the schooles of Beauty, that love which seemed to threaten in the eyes of Queen Jane, did only seem to sport it selfe in the eyes of Queen Ann, that there was more Majesty in the Garb of Queen Jane Seimour, and more loveliness in that of Queen Ann Bollen; yet so, that the Majesty of the one did excell in Loveliness, and that the Loveliness of the other did exceed in majesty. Sir John Russell, afterwards Earle of Bedford, who had beheld both Queenes in their greatest Glories, did use to say that the richer Queen Jane was in clothes, the fairer she appeared; but that the other, the richer she was apparelled, the worse she looked: which shewes, that Queen Ann only trusted to the Beauties of Nature, and that Queen Jane did sometimes help her selfe by externall Ornaments. In a word, she had in her all the Graces of Queen Ann, but Governed (if my conjecture doth not faile me) with an evenner, and more constant temper, or if you will, she may be said to be equally made up of the two last Queenes, as having in her all the Attractions of Queen Ann, but Regulated by the reservednesse of Queen Katharine also.

Lord Herb.
Hist. fol. 387.

1536.

It is not to be thought, that so many rare perfections, should be long concealed from the eye of the King: or, that love should not worke in him it's accustomed effects of desire and hope. In the prosecution whereof, he lay so open to discovery, that the Queen could not chuse but take notice of it, and intimated her suspicions to him, as appears by a letter of hers in the *Scrinia Sacra*. In which she signifies unto him, that by hastning her intended death, he would be left at liberty, both before God and man, to follow his affection, already settled on the Party, for whose sake she was reduced unto that condition; and whose name she could some while since have pointed to, his Grace not being ignorant of her suspicions. And it appeared by the event, that she was not much mistaken in the Mark she aimed at. For, scarce had her lamentable death, which happened on the nineteenth of May, prepared the way for the Legitimizing of this new affection, but on the morrow after the King was secretly married to Mistress Seimour, and openly showed her as his Queen in the Whitsonside following. A Marriage, which made some alteration in the face of the Court, in the advancing of her kindred, and discountenancing the Dependants of the former Queen; but otherwise produced no change in Affaires of State. The King proceeded as before

An. 1536. before, in suppressing Monasteries, extinguishing the Popes Authority, and altering divers things in the face of the Church which tended to that Reformation, which after followed. For, on the eighth of June began the Parliament, in which here past an Act for the *finall extinguishing of the Tower of the Popes of Rome, Cap. 10.* And the next day a Convocation of the Bishops and Clergy, managed by Sir *Thomas Cromwell*, advanced about the time unto the Title of Lord *Cromwell of Wimblidon*; and made his Majesty *Vicar Generall*, of all Ecclesiastical Matters in the Realme of *England*. By whose Authority, a book was published, after Mature debate and Deliberation, under the name of *Articles, Devise by the Kings Highness*, in which is mentioed but three Sacraments, that is to say, *Baptisme, Penance, and the Lords Supper.* Besides which book, there were some Acts agreed upon in the Convocation, for diminishing the superfluous number of Holy dayes, especially of such as happened in the time of Harvest. Signified afterwards to the people in certain *Injunctions*, published in the Kings name, by the new *Vicar Generall*, as the first fruits of his Authority. In which it was ordained amongst other things, that the Curates in every Parish Church should teach the People to say the Lords Prayer, the Creed, the *Ave-Mary*, and the Ten Commandments in the *English Tongue.*

But, that which seemed to make most for the Advantage of the new Queen, and her Posterity (if it please God to give her any) was the unexpected death of the Duke of *Richmond*, the Kings naturall Son, begotten on the body of the Lady *Talbot*: So dearly cherished by his Father (having then no lawfull Issue-male) that in the sixth year of his Age, *An. 1525.* he created him Earl of *Nottingham*, and not long after Duke of *Richmond and Somerset*, preferred him to the Honourable office of *Earle Marshall*, elected him into the Order of the Garter, made him Lord Admirall of the Royall Navy, in an expedition against *France*, and finally Affianced him to *Mary*, the daughter of *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, the most Powerfull Subject in the Kingdom. Nor were these all the favours intended to him, The Crown it selfe being designed him by the King, in default of Lawfull Issue, to be procreated, and begotten of his Royall Body. For, in the *Act of the Succession*, which past in the Parliament of this year, the Crown being first settled upon the Issue of this Queen, with the remainder to the Kings issue, lawfully begotten on any following wife whatsoever; there past this clause in favour of the Duke of *Richmond* (as it was then generally conceived) that is to say, "That for lack of lawfull heires of the Kings body, to be procreated, or begotten, as is afore limited by this Act, it should, and might be lawfull for him to confer the same on any such Person, or Persons, in Possession, and Remainder, as should please his Highness, and according to such Estate, and after such manner, forme, fashion, order, and condition, as should be expressed, declared, named, and limited, in his said Letters Patents or by his last Will: the Crown to be enjoyed by such person, or persons, so to be nominated and appointed, in as large and ample manner, as if such Person or Persons, had been his Highness Lawfull Heires to the Imperiall Crown of this Realm.

*An. 28. Hen. 8.
Cap. VII.*

And though it might please God, as it after did, to give the King some Lawfull Issue by this Queen, yet took he so much care for this naturall son, as to enable himselfe by another Clause in the said Act, "to advance any person, or persons of his most Royall Blood, by Letters Patents, under the Great Seale, to any Title, Style, or Name, of any Estate, Dignity, or Honour, whatsoever it be, and to give to them, or any of them, any Castles, Honours, Mannours, Lands, Tenements, Liberties, Franchises, or other Hereditaments in fee simple, or Fee-tail, or for terme of their lives, or the life of any of them.

But all these expectations and Provisions were to no effect, the Duke departing this life at the age of 17 years, or thereabouts, within few dayes after the ending of this Session, that is to say, on the 22th. day of July, *Anno 1636.* to the

the extreame griefe of the King, and the generall sorrow of the Court, who had him in a High degree of veneration, for his birth, and Galantry. *An. 1537.*

It appeares also by a passage in this Act of Parliament, above mentioned, that the King was not only hurried to this Marriage by his own affections, but by the humble petition, and intercession of most of the Nobles of his Realm; moved thereunto, as well by the conveniency of her yeares, as in respect that by her excellent beauty, and purenesse of flesh and blood (I speak the very words of the Act it selfe) she was apt (God willing) to conceive issue. And so accordingly it proved. For, on the 12th. of October, 1537. about two of the clock in the morning she was delivered of a young Prince (Christened not long after by the name of Edward) but it cost her deare, she dying within two dayes after, and leaving this Character behind her, of being the Discreetest, Humblest, and Fairest of all the Kings Wives. It hath been commonly reported, and no lesse generally believed, that that child being come unto the birth, and there wanting naturall strength to be delivered, his Mothers body was ripped open to give him a passage into the World, and that she died of the Incision in a short time after. The thing not only so related in our common Heralds, but taken up for a constant and undoubted truth, by Sir John Haywood, in his History of the Life and Reign of King Edward the sixth, which notwithstanding there are many reasons to evince the contrary. For, first it is observed by the said Sir John Haywood, that children, so brought forth, were by the ancient Romans esteemed fortunate, and commonly proved great enterprisers, with happy successe. And so it is affirmed by Pliny, viz. *Aspicatins Enella Matre Nascentur*, &c. called first *Cæsares*, and afterwards more commonly *Cæsars*, as learned Writers do averr, *quia caso matris utero in Lucem prodissent*, because their Mothers bodies had been opened, to make passage for them. Amongst whom they reckon *Cæso*, and *Fabius*, who was three times Consul; *Scipio*, surnamed *Africanus*, Renowned for his Victories in Spain, his vanquishing of *Haniball*, and humbling the proud Cities of *Carthage*. And besides others, *Julius Cæsar*, who brought the whole Roman Empire under his Command, whereas the life of this Prince was short, his Reigne full of troubles, and his end generally supposed to be traiterously contrived, without performing any memorable Action, either at home, or abroad, which might make him pass in the account of a fortunate Prince, or any way successfull in the enterprising of Heroick Actions. *Plin. Lib. 7. Cap. 9.*

Besides, it may appeare by two severall Letters, the one written by the appointment of the Queen her selfe, immediately after her delivery, the other by one of her Physicians, on the morrow after, that she was not under any such extreame necessity (though questionlesse she had a hard labour of it) as report hath made her. For first, the Queen immediately upon the birth of the Prince, caused this ensuing Letter, signed with her own signet, to be sent unto the Lords of the Privy Counsell, that is to say.

Right trusty, and well Beloved, we greet you well. And forasmuch as by the ineffimable goodnesse, and Grace of Almighty God, we be delivered, and brought in Childbed of a PRINCE, conceived in most Lawfull Matrimony between my Lord the Kings Majesty, and us. Doubting not, but that for the Love and affection you beare unto us, and to the Common Wealth of this Realme, this knowledge shall be joyous, and Glad Tidings unto you: We have thought good to certifie you of this same: To the intent ye might not only render unto God Condidgne thanks, and praise for so great a benefit, but also continually pray for the long Continuance, and preservation of the same, here in this life

Church. Hist. 7. Fol. 422.

An. 1537.



to the Honour of God, joy and pleasure of my Lord the KING,
and us, and the Universall Weale, quiet, and tranquillity of this whole
Realme.

Given under our signet, at my Lords Mannor
of Hampton Court, the twelfth
day of October.

But, having a hard labour of it, as before was said, it brought her first into
a very high distemper, and after into a very great looseness, which to accelera-
ted the approach of death, that she prepared her selfe for God, according to the
Rites of the Church then being. And this appeares by a letter of the Queenes
Physitians, directed in these words to the Lords of the Councell, viz.

1d. Ibid.

THese shall be to advise your Lordships of the Queenes Estate: Yesterday
afternoon she had a naturall lax, by reason whereof she began to lighten,
and (as it appeared) to amend, and so continued till towards night. All
this night she hath been very sick, and doth rather appare, then amend.
her Confessor hath been with her Grace this morning, and hath done that
to his office appertaineth, and is even now preparing to Administer to her
Grace the Sacrament of Unction.

Subscribed at Hampton Court on Wednesday morning at
eight of the clock, by Thomas Cutland, Robert
Karbold, Edward Bayntam, John Cham-
bers Priest, William Butts,
George Owen.

So died this Noble, Beautifull, and Vertuous Queen, to the Generall lamen-
tation of all good Subjects, and on the twelfth of November following, with
great Solemnity was conveyed to Windsor, and there Magnificently interred in
the midst of the quire. In memory of whom, I find this Epitaph, not unworthy
the greatest wits of the present times, to have then been made, viz.

*Phoenix Jana facit nato Phoenix Dolendum est,
Sacula Phoenixes nulla tulisse duas.*

That is to say,

Here Jane, a Phoenix lies, whose death,
Gave to another Phoenix breath.
Sad case the while, that no age ever,
Could show two Phoenixes together.

Stow Chron p.
575. Godw.
Ann. Hen. 8.
p. 117.
Lord Herb.
Hist. fol. 430.

But, to return unto the Prince, It is affirmed with like confidence, and as
little truth, that on the 13th. day of October, then next following (that being but
the sixth day after his birth) he was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall,
Earle of Chester, &c. In which, though I may easily excuse John Stow, and
Bishop Goodwine, who report the same, yet I shall never pardon the late Lord
Herbert for his incuriosity, as one that had fit opportunities to know the contra-
ry. For first, Prince Edward was never created Duke of Cornwall, and there
was no reason why he should, he being actually Duke of Cornwall at the houre
of his birth, according to the Entails, which was made of that Dukedome to the
Crown, by King Edward the third. And secondly, he was never created Prince
of Wales, nor then, nor any time then after following, his Father dying in the
midst of the preparations which were intended for the Pomp and Ceremony of
that

that Creation: This truth confessed by Sir *John Haywood*, in his History of the Life and Reign of this King; and generally avowed by all our Hera'ds, who reckon none of the children of King *Henry the Eighth*, amongst the Princes of *Wales*, although all of them successively by vulgar Appellation had been so entituled. Which appeares more plainly by a particular of the Robes and Ornaments, which were preparing for the day of this Solemnity, as they are entred on Record in the book called *The Catalogue of Honour*, published by *Thomas Mills* of *Canterbury*, where it appeares also, that they were prepared only, but never used, by reason of the Kings death, which prevented the Solemnities of it.

The ground of this Error, I conceive first to be taken from *John Stow* who finding a creation of some Noble men, and the making of many Knights, to relate to the 18 day of *October*, supposed it to have been done with reference to the Creation of a Prince of *Wales*, whereas, if I might take the liberty of putting in my own conjecture, I should conceive rather that it was done with Reference to the Princes Christning, as in like manner we find a creation of three Earles, and five to inferiour Titles, at the Christning of the Princess *Mary*, born to King *James*, after his coming into *England*, and Christened upon Sunday, the fifth of *May*. 1604. And I conceive withall, that Sir *Edward Seimour*, Vicount *Beauchamp*, the Queenes elder brother, was then created Earle of *Hartford*, to make him more capable of being one of the Godfathers; or, a Deputy-Godfather at the least, to the Royall Infant, the Court not being then in a condition, by reason of the mournfull accident of the late Queenes death, to shew it selfe in any extraordinary splendour, as the occasion had required at another time. Among which persons so advanced to the Dignity and degree of Knighthood, I find Mr. *Thomas Seimour*, the Queenes youngest brother, to be one of the number, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak more fully and particularly in the course of this History. No other alteration made in the face of the Court, but that Sir *William Pawlet* was made Treasurer, and Sir *John Russell* Comptroller of his Majesties Household, on the said 18th. day of *October* (which I conceive to be the day of the Princes Christning) both of them being principall Actors in the Affaires, and troubles of the following times.

But, in the face of the Church, there appeared some lines, which looked directly towards a Reformation. For, besides the surrendring of divers Monasteries, and the executing of some Abbots, and other Religious Persons for their stiffnesse (if I may not call it a perversenesse) in oppoling the Kings desires; there are two things of speciall note, which concurred this year, as the Prognosticks, or fore-runners of those great events, which after followed in his Reign. For it appeares by a Memoriall of the Famous Library of Sir *Robert Cotton*, that *Grafton* now made known to *Cromwell*, the finishing of the *Englisch* Bible, of which he had printed 1500. at his own proper charges, amounting in the totall to 500. p. desiring stoppage of a surreptitious Edition in a lesse Letter, which else would tend to his undoing; the suit endeared by *Cranmer*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, at whose request *Cromwell* presents one of the Bibles to the King, and procures the same to be allowed by his Authority to be read publicly, without comptrole, in all his Dominions, and for to doing, he receives a letter of thanks from the said Arch-Bishop, dated *August* the 13th. of this present year. Nor were the Bishops and Clergy wanting to advance the work, by publishing a certain book in the *Englisch* Tongue, which they entituled *The Institution of a Christian Man*; in which the Doctrine of the Sacraments, the Creed, the Lords Prayer, and the Commandments, were opened and expounded more perspicuously, and lesse abhorrent from the truth then in former times. By which clear light of Holy Scripture, and the principall duties of Religion so laid open to them, the people were the better able to discern the errors and corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, From which by the piety of this Prince they were fully Freed. And for a preamble thereunto the *Road of Foxley*, commonly called the *Road of Grace*, so Artificially contrived (by reason of some secret wires in the

An. 1538. body, or concavities of it) that it could move the eyes, the lips, &c. to the great wonder and astonishment of the common people, was openly discovered for a lewd imposture, and broke in pieces at St. Pauls Cross, on Sunday the 24. of February; the Rood of Bermondsey Abby in South-work following the same fortune also within six dayes.

Anno 1538.

The next year brings an end to almost all the Monasteries, and Religious houses in the Realme of England, surrendered into the Kings hands, by publique instruments, under the seales of all the severall and respective Convents, and those surrenderies, ratified and confirmed by Act of Parliament. And this occasionally conduced to the future peace and quiet of this young Prince, by removing out of the way some Great Pretenders, who otherwise might have created to him no small disturbance. For so it happened, that Henry, Earle of Devonshire, and Margaret, Countesse of Exceter, descended from a daughter of King Edward the fourth, and Henry Pole, Lord Mountacute, descended from a daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, the second brother of that Edward, under colour of preventing, or revenging the Dissolution of so many famous Abbeys, and religious houses, associated themselves with Sir Edward Nevill, and Sir Nicholas Carew, in a dangerous practise against the person of the King, and the Peace of the Kingdom. By whose endictment it appeares, that it was their purpose and designe to destroy the King, and advance Reginald Pole, one of the younger brothers of the said Lord Mountacute (of whom we shall hear more in the course of this History) to the Regal Throne. Which, how it could consist with the Pretensions of the Marquisse of Exceter, or the Ambition of the Lord Mountacute, the elder brother of this Reginald, it is hard to say. But, having the Chronicle of John Speed to justify me in the truth hereof in this particular, I shall not take upon me to dispute the point. The dangerous practise of which Persons, did not so much retard the worke of Reformation, as their execution did advance it; to this year also appertaineth the suppressing of Pilgrimages, the defacing of the costly and magnificent shrines of our Lady of Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester, &c, and more particularly of Thomas Becket, once Arch-Bishop of Canterbury. This last, so rich in Jewells of most inestimable value, that two great chests were filled with the spoyles thereof; so heavy and capacious, as is affirmed by Bishop Goodwin, that each of them required no fewer then eight men to carry them out of the Church, nothing inferior unto Gold, being charged within them. More modestly in this then Sanders, that malicious Sycophant, who will have no lesse then twenty six waive load of silver, Gold, and precious stones, to be seized into the Kings hands, by the spoyle of that Monument. Which proceedings so exasperated the Pope then being, that without more delay, by his Bull of January 1. he deprived the King of his Dominions, and caused the sentence of his Deprivation to be posted up at the Townes of Brugers, Taurney, and Dunkirke in Flanders, at Bolloigne, and Digne in France, and St. Andrewes in Scotland; effecting nothing by the unadvisedness of that desperate Counsell, but that the King became more fixed in his Resolutions, and more averse from all the thoughts of Reconciliation with the See of Rome.

Anno 1539.

The surrenderies of the former year, confirmed by Act of Parliament, in the beginning of this, drew after it the final dissolution of all the rest; none daring to oppose that violent Torrent, which seemed to carry all before it; but the Abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glasfenbury quarrelled, for which they were severally condemned, and executed, under colour of denying the Kings Supremacy; and their rich Abbeys seized upon, as confiscations to the use of the King, which brought him into such a suspicion of separating from the Communion of the Church of Rome, that for the better vindicating of his integrity, as to the particulars, he passed in the same Parliament the terrible Statute of the six Articles, which drew so much good blood from his Protestant Subjects.

Anno 1540.

And being further doubtfull in himselfe what course to keere, he marries at the same time with the Lady Ann, sister unto the Duke of Cleve, whom not long after

after he divorceth; Advanceth his Great Minister, *Cromwell* (by whom he had made so much havock of Religious houses, in all parts of the Realm) to the Earldome of *Essex*, and sends him headlesse to his Grave within three moneths after; takes to his bed the Lady *Katharine Howard*, a Niece of *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, and in short time found cause enough to cut off her head; not being either the richer in children, by so many wives, nor much improved in his Revenue by such horrible Rapines. In the midst of which confusions he sets the wheele of Reformation once more going, by moderating the extreme severity of the said Statute, touching the six Articles, abolishing the Superstitious usages, accustomedly observed on *St. Nicholas day*; and causing the *English Bible*, of the Larger vollumne, to be set up, in all, and every Parish Church, within the Kingdome, for such as were Religiously minded to Resort unto it.

An. 1542.

Anno 1542.

Anno 1542.

The Prince had now but newly finished the first yeare of his age, when a fit wife was thought of for him upon this occasion. The Pope incensed against King *Henry*, had not long since *sententially* deprived him of his Kingdom, as before was said. And having so done, he made an offer of it to King *James* the fifth, then King of the *Scots*, the only Son of *Margaret*, his eldest sister, wife of *James* the fourth. To whom he sent a *Breve* to this effect: viz.

Speed ex John
Lesbly. Fol.
1014.

"That he would assit him against King *Henry*, whom in his Consistory, he had pronounced to be a Heretick, a Scismatick, a manifest Adulterer, a publicke Murtherer, a committer of Sacriledge, a Rebelle, and convict of *Leſe Majestatis*, for that he had risen against his Lord, and therefore that he had justly deprived him of his Kingdom, and would dispose the same to him, and other Princes, so as they would assit him in the recovery of it.

This could not be so closely carried, but that the King had notice of it, who from thenceforth began to have a watchfull eye upon the Actions of his Nephew, sometimes alluring him unto his party, by offering him great hopes and favours; and practising at other times to weaken, and distract him, by animating, and maintaining his owne Subjects against him. At last, to set all right between them, an interview was appointed to be held at *York*, proposed by *Henry*, and condescended to by *James*. But, when the day appointed came, the *Scots* King failed, being deterred from making his appearance there, by some Popish Prelates, who put into his head, a fear of being detained a Prisoner, as *James* the first had been by King *Henry* the fourth. Upon this breach the King makes ready for a Warr, sets out a manifest of the Reasons which induced him to it, amongst which he insists especially on the neglect of performing that Homage, which anciently had been done (and still of Right ought to be done) to the Kings of *England*. In prosecuting of which Warr, the Duke of *Norfolk* entred *Scotland* with an Army, *October 21. Anno 1542.* waits and spoiles all the Country; followed not long after by an Army of *Scots*, consisting of 15000. men, which in like manner entred *England*, but were discomfited by the valour and good fortune of Sir *Thomas Wharton*, and Sir *William Masgrave*, with the help of some few Borderers only, the *Scots* upon some discontent, making little resistance. In which fight, besides many of the *Scottish* Nobility, were taken eight hundred Prisoners of inferiour note: twenty foure peeces of Ordinance, some cart loads of Armes, and other booty.

On the 19 of *December* the *Scottish* Lords, and other of the Principall Prisoners, to the number of 20. or thereabouts, were brought into *London*; followed on the third day after with the newes of the death of King *James*, and the birth of the young Queen his daughter. This put King *Henry* on some thoughts of uniting the two Crowns in a firme and everlasting League; by the Marriage of this infant Queen, with his Son Prince *Edward*: In pursuance whereof he sent for the imprisoned Lords, feasted them royally at *White Hall*, and dealt so effectually with them by himselfe and his Ministers, that they all severally and jointly engaged themselves to promote this Match. Dismiss into their own Country, upon these promises, and the leaving of Hostages, they followed

An. 1542. the Negotiation with such care and diligence, that on the 29th. of June, in the year ensuing (notwithstanding the great opposition made against them by the Queen Dowager, Cardinall Becon, and divers others who adhered to the Faction of France) they brought the businesse at the last to this Conclusion, viz.

1. That the Lords of Scotland shall have the Education of the Princess for a time, yet so, as it might be Lawfull for our King to send thither a Noble man, and his Wife, with a Family under twenty Persons, to waite on her. 2. That at ten yeares of Age she should be brought into England, the contrail being first finished by a Proxie in Scotland. 3. That within two moneths after the date herof, six Noble Scots should be given as Hestages for the performance of the Conditions on their Part: And that if any of them dyed, their number should be supplied. 4. And furthermore it was agreed upon, that the Realme of Scotland (by that name) should preserve it's Lawes and Rights; and that Peace should be made for as long time as was desired, the French being excluded.

Anno 1543. But, though these Capitulations thus agreed on, were sent into England, signed, and sealed in the August following; yet the Cardinall and his Party grew so strong, that the whole Treaty came to nothing; the Noble Men who had been Prisoners, falsifying their Faith, and chusing rather (the Lord Kenneth Earle of Cassiles excepted) to leave their Hestages to King Henries mercy, then to put themselves into his Power. Provoked therewith, the King denounceth Warr against them, and knowing that they depended chiefly upon the strength of France, he peeceth with the Emperour Charles the fifth, and Proclaimeth Warr against the French, Following the Warr against both Kingdomes, he causeth many in-roads to be made into Scotland, wasting, and harraising that poor Country; and with a Royall Army passeth over into France, where he made himselfe Master of the strong Town of Bolloigne; with the Forts about it, into which he made his Royall entry, Sep. 25. 1544. The rest of the Kings life spent in continuall Action against both Nations, in which the Enemies had the worst, though not without some losse to the English also; the poore Scots paying so dearely for their breach of Faith, that no yeare passed, in which their Country was not wasted, and their ships destroyed. Toward the charges of which VVarres, the King obtained a Grant in Parliament, of all Chantries, Colledges, Hospitalls, and free Chappells, with the Lands thereunto belonging, to be united to the Crown. But, dying before he had took the benefit of it, he left that part of the spoyle to such of his Ministers, who had the Managing of Affaires in his Sons Minority.

Anno. 1545. In the mean time the Prince having attained unto the Age of six yeares, was taken out of the hands of his women, and committed to the tuition of Mr. John Cheeke, whom he afterwards Knighted, and advanced him to the Provostship of Kings Colledge in Cambridge, and Doctor Richard Cox, whom afterwards he preferred to the Deanty of Westminster, and made chiefe Almoner. These two being equall in Authority, employed themselves to his advantage in their severall kindes, Doctor Cox for knowledge of Divinity, Philosophy, and Gravity of Manners; Mr. Cheeke for eloquence in the Greek and Latine Tongues. Besides which two he had some others to instruct him in the Modern Languages, and thrived so well amongst them all, that in short time he perfectly spake the French tongue, and was able to expresse himselfe significantly enough in the Italian, Greek and Spanish. And as for Latine, he was such an early proficient in it, that before he was eight yeares old, he is said to have written the ensuing Letter to the King his Father; seconding the same with another to the Earle of Hartford, as he did that also with a third to the Queen Katharine Parre, whom his Father had taken to wife, July the 12th. 1543. And though these Letters may be used as good evidences of his great proficiency,

proficiency, with reference to the times in which he lived; yet in our dayes in which either the wits of men are sooner ripe, or the method of teaching more exact, and facile, they would be found to contain nothing which is more then ordinary. Now his Letter to the King (referring the Reader for the other two, unto Fox, and Fuller) it beares date, on the 27th. day of September, when he wanted just a fortnight of eight yeares old, and is this that followeth.

PRINCE Edwards Epistle to the King,
September 27. 1545.

Littera Mea semper habent unum Argumentum, Rex Nobilissime, atque pater Illustrissime, id est, in omnibus Epistolis ago tibi Grattas pro beneficentia tua Erga me Maxima; si enim sepius multo, ad te literas Exararem, nullo tamen quidem modo potius pervenire officio Literarum ad magnitudinem benignitatis tue erga me. Quis enim potuit compensare beneficia tua erga me? Nimirum nullus qui non est tam magnus Rex, ac Nobilis Princeps, ac tu es, cuiusmodi ego non sum. Quamobrem Pietas tua in me, multo gratior est mihi, quod facis mihi, quae nullo modo compensare Possim; sed tamen Adnitur, & Faciam quod in me est, ut placeam Majestati, atque Precabor Deum, ut diu te servet in columen. Vale Rex Nobilissime,

Halfeldie

Vicesimo Septimo.

Septemb.

Majestati tuae

Observantissimus Filius

EDWARDUS PRINCEPS.

For a companion at his book, or rather for a Proxie to bear the punishment of such errors as either through negligence, or inadvertency were committed by him, he had one Barnaby Fitz Patrick, the son (if I conjecture aright) of that Patrick, whom I finde amongst the witnesses to King Henries last Will and Testament, as also amongst those Legatees which are therein mentioned, the King bequeathing him the Legacy of one hundred markes. But, whether I be right or not, most probable it is, that he had a very easie substitution of it; the harmlesse of the Princes nature, the ingenuity of his disposition, and his assiduity at his book, freeing him for the most part from such corrections, to which other children at the schoole are most commonly subiect. Yet, if it to me times happened, as it seldome did, that the servant suffered punishment for his Masters errors. It is not easie to affirm, whether Fitz Patrick smarted more for the fault of the Prince, or the Prince conceived more griefe for the smart of Fitz Patrick. Once I am certain that the Prince entertained such a reall Estimation of him, that when he came unto the Crown, he acquainted him by letter with the sufferings of the Duke of Sommerfet, instructed and maintained him for his travels in France, endowed him with faire lands in Ireland (his native Country) and finally made him Baron of upper Offery, which Honourable Title he enjoyed till the time of his death, in the latter end of Queen Elizabeths Reign, at what time he dyed a zealous and Religious Protestant. One thing I must not pretermitt

An. 1546. pretermitt to shew the extraordinary piety of this hopefull Prince in the dayes of his childhood, when, being about to take down something, which seemed to be above his Reach, one of his fellowes proffered him a Bossed-Plated Bible, to stand upon, and heighten him for taking that which he desired. Which, when he perceived to be a Bible, with Holy indignation he refused it, and sharply reprehended him that made the offer. A strong assurance of that deare esteem and veneration, in which he held that Sacred Book in his riper yeares.

Anno 1546. Having attained the age of nine, there were great preparations made for his sollemne investiture in the Principality of *Wales*, together with the Earldomes of *Chester* and *Flint*, as dependants on it. Toward which Pomp, I find a provision to be made of these Ornaments and Habillments following; that is to say, first an Honourable Habit, viz. A Robe of Purple Velvet, having in it about eighteen ells, more or lesse, Garnished about with a fringe of Gold, and lined with *Ermings*, A *Suroot*, or inner Gown, having in it about fourteen ells of Velvet, of like colour, Fringe, and Furr, Laces, Buttons, and Tassells (as they call them, Ornaments made of Purple, Silk, and Gold; A Girdle of silk, to gird his inner Gowne; A sword with a scabbard made of Purple, silke, and Gold, garnished with the like girdle he is girt withall, thereby showing him to be Duke of *Cornwall* by birth, and not by Creation. A cap of the same velvet that his Robe is of, furred with *Ermings*, with Laces, and a button, and Tassells on the Crown thereof, made of *Venice Gold*: A Garland, or a little Coronet of Gold, to be put on his head, together with his Cap. A long golden verge, or Rod, betokening his Government. A ring of Gold also, to be put on the third finger of his left hand, whereby he was to declare his Marriage, made with equity and Justice. But, scarce were these provisions ready, but the Kings sicknesse brought a stop, and his death shortly after put an end to those preparations; the expectation of a Principality, being thereby changed to the possession of a Crown.

For, the King having long lived a voluptuous life, and indulgent too much unto his Pallate, was growne so corpulent, or rather so over-growne with an unweildy burthen of flesh, that he was not able to go up staires, from one roome to another, but as he was hoisted up by an Engine: Which, filling his body with foule and foggy humours, and those humours falling into his leg, in which he had an ancient and uncured sore, they there began to settle to an inflammation, which did both waste his Spirits, and increase his passions. In the midst of which distempers, it was not his least care to provide for the safety of his Son, and preserve the succession of the Crown to his own Posterity. At such time as he had married Queen *Ann Bollen*, he procured his daughter *Mary* to be declared illegitimate by Act of Parliament; the like he also did by his daughter *Elizabeth*, when he had married Queen *Jane Seymour*, setting the Crown upon his issue by the said Queen *Jane*. But, having no other issue by her but Prince *Edward* only, and none at all by any of his following wives; he thought it a high point of Prudence (as indeed it was) to establish the Succession with more stayes then one, and not to let it rest on so weak a staffe, as a childe of little more then nine yeares of age, For which cause he procured an Act of Parliament, in the 35th. yeare of his Reign, in which it is declared, that in default of issue of the said Prince *Edward*, the Crowne should be entailed to the Kings daughter, the Lady *Mary*, and the Heiress of her body, and for default thereof to the Kings daughter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the heires of her body, and for lack of such issue, to such as the King by his Letters Patents, or his Last Will in Writing should Limit.

So that he had three children by three severall wives, two of them borne of questionable Marriages, yet all made capable by this Act, of having their severall turnes in the succession, as it after proved. And though a threefold cord be not easily broken, yet he obtained further power for disposing the Crown, if their issue failed; whereof, being now sick, and fearing his approaching end, he resolved to make such use in laying down the State of the succession to the Crown,

Act of An. 35.
Henry
the 8th. Cap. 1.

Crown Imperiall, as was more agreeable to his private passions, then the Rules of Justice; which appeared plainly by his excluding of the whole *Scottish* Line, descended from the Lady *Margaret*, his eldest sister, from all hopes thereof; unlesse perhaps it may be said, that the *Scottish* Line might be sufficiently provided for, by the Marriage of the young Queen with the Prince his Son, and that it was the *Scotts* own fault, if the match should faile.

This care being over, and the Succession settled by his Last Will and Testament, bearing date, the 28th. of *December*, being a full moneth before his death, he began to entertaine some feares and Jealousies, touching the safety of the Prince, whom he should leave unto a factious and divided Court, who were more like to serve their own turns by him, then advance his interest His brother-in-Law, the Duke of *Suffolk* (in whom he most confided) died not long before; the kindred of Queen *Jane* were but new in Court, of no Authority in themselves, and such as had subsisted chiefly by the countenance, which she had from him. As they could contribute little to the defence of the Princes person, and the preservation of his Rights; So there were some who had the Power, (and who could tell but that they also had the will?) to change the whole frame of his design, and take the Government to themselves. Amongst which there was none more feared then the Noble Lord *Henry*, Earle of *Surrey*, the eldest son of *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, strong in Alliance and Dependence, of a Revenue not inferiour to some forreign Kings, and that did derive his Pedigree from King *Edward* the first. The Earle himselfe, beheld in generall by the *English*, as the chiefe Ornament of the Nation; Highly esteemed for his Chivalry, his Affability, his learning, and whatsoever other Graces might either make him amiable in the eyes of the people, or formidable in the sight of a jealous, impotent, and way-ward Prince. Against him therefore, and his Father, there were Crimes devised, their persons put under an Arrest, their Arraignment prosecuted at the Guild Hall in *London*, where they both received the sentence of death; which the Earle suffered on the Tower Hill, on the 19. of *January*, the old Duke being reserved by the Kings death, (which followed within nine dayes after) for more happy times. Which brings into my minde a sharp, but shrewd Character of this King, occurring in the writings of some, but more common in the mouthes of many. that is to say, *that he never spared woman in his lust, nor man in his anger.* For proove of which last, it is observed; that he brought unto the block two Queens, two Noble Ladies, one Cardinal declared, of Dukes, Marquisses, Earles, and the sons of Earles, no fewer then twelve: Lords and Knights, eighteen; of Abbots and Priors thirteen; Monks, and Religious Persons, about seventy seven; and many more of both Religions, to a very great number. So as it cannot be denied, that he had too much (as all great Monarchs must have somewhat) of the Tyrant in him. And yet I dare not say with Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, *That if all the patterns of a mercilesse Prince had been lost in the World, they might have been found in this one King*; some of his Executions being justifiable by the very nature of their Crimes, others to be imputed to the infelicity of the times in which he lived, and may be ascribed unto Reasons of State, the Exigences whereof are seldom squared by the Rule of Justice.

Sand. de Scis. Angl. p. 214

His Infirmary, and the weaknesse which it brought upon him, having confined him to his bed, he had a great desire to receive the Sacrament; and being perswaded to receive it in the easiest posture, sitting, or raised up in his bed, he would by no means yield unto it; but caused himselfe to be taken up, placed in his chaire, in which he heard the greatest part of the Office, till the Consecration, and then Received the Blessed Sacrament on his knees, as at other times, saying withall, as *Sanders* doth Relate the story, *That if he did not only cast himselfe upon the ground, but even under it also, he could not give unto the Sacrament the Honour which was due unto it.* The instant of his death approaching, none of his Servants, though thereunto desired by his Physicians, durst acquaint him with it.

Ibid. p. 211.

An. 1546. it. Till at last Sir *Anthony Denny* undertook that ungratefull office, which the King entertaining with lesse impatience then was looked for from him, gave order that Arch-Bishop *Crammer* should be presently sent for. But, the Arch-Bishop being then at his house in *Croyden*, seven miles from *Lambeth*, it was so long before he came, that he found him speechlesse. Howsoever, applying himselfe to the Kings present condition, and discoursing to him on this Point, that Salvation was to be obtained only by Faith in Christ, he desired the King, that if he understood the effect of his words, and believed the same, he would signifie as much by some signe or other, which the King did by ringing him gently by the hand, and within short time after he gave up the Ghost, when he had lived fifty five yeares, seven moneths, and six dayes over, of which he had Reigned thirty seven yeares, nine moneths, and six dayes also.

Having brought King *Henry* to his death, we must next see in what estate he left the Kingdome to his Son, with reference to the condition of Affaires both at home and abroad. Abroad he left the *Pope* his most bitter enemy, intent on all advantages for the recovery of the Power and Jurisdiction, which had been exercis'd in *England* by his Predecessors; and all the Princes of his Party, in *Germany*, *Italy*, and elsewhere, either in Action, or Design, concurring with him. The Protestant Kings and Princes he had disobligh'd, by repudiating the Lady *Ann* of *Cleve*, and the precipitated death of *Cromwell*, upon whose Power and favour with him they did most rely: But, nothing did more alienate their affections from him, then the persecution rais'd at home, upon the terrible Statute of the six Articles, before remembered, by which they saw themselves condemned, and executed in the persons of those, who suffered for the same Religion, which themselves professed. And, as for the two great Kings of *France* and *Spain*, he had so carried himselfe between them, that he was rather feared of both, then beloved by either of them. The Realms and Signeuries of *Spain* (except *Portugall* only) together with the Kingdomes of *Naples*, *Sicilie*, and *Sardinia*, and the Estates belonging to the House of *Burgundy*, in the Belgick Provinces, were all united in the Person of *Charles* the fifth, to which he added by his own proper Power and Valour, the Dukedomes of *Milaine*, and *Gullders*, the Earldome of *Zutphen*, with the Estates of *Groningen*, *Utrecht*, and *Over-yssele*. And on the other side the French Kings were not only in the quiet possession of those goodly Territories, (*Normandy*, *Guienne*, and the rest) which anciently belonged to the Kings of *England*; but lately had inpatronised themselves of the Dukedomes of *Burgoyne*, and *Britaigne*, and the Earldome of *Provence*, all meeting in the Person of King *Francis* the first. Of which two great and puissant Princes, the first being resolved to admit no equall, and the second to acknowledge no superiour, they endeavoured by all wayes and meanes imaginable to subdue each other, whereby the Conqueror might attaine in time to the Empire of *Europe*. It was therefore King *Henries* chiefst care, as it was his interests to keep the scales to even between them, that neither of them should preponderate, or weigh down the other, to the endangering of the rest of the Princes of Christendome: Which he performed with so great constancy and courage, as made him in effect the Arbitrer at all times between them. So as it may be truly affirmed of him, that he sat at the Helme, and Steered the great Affaires of Christendome, to what point he pleased. But then withall as his constant and continuall standing to this Maxime of State, made him friend to neither, so he was suspected of them both; both having also their particular Animosities against his person and proceedings. The Emperour irreconcilably incens'd against him for the injury done unto his Aunt, from whom he had caused himselfe to be divorced; the French King no less highly enraged by the taking of *Bulligne*, for which, though the King had shuff'd up a peace with *France*, Prince *Edward* shall be called to a sober Reckoning, when he least looks for it.

To look to matters near at home, we finde the *Scots* exasperated by his
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Annually inrodes, but more by his demanding the long neglected duty of Homage to be performed from that Kingdom to the Crown of England: The Irish on the other side of the sea, being kept under by strong hand, but standing upon no good termes of affection with him; the executing of the young Earle of Kildare, and five of his Unckles at one time, being fresh in memory, and neither forgotten, nor forgiven by the rest of the Clanns. And, as for England it self, the People were generally divided into Schismes and Factions; some being two stiff in their old *Mumphysmus*, as others no lesse busie in their new *Mumphysmus*, as he used to phrase it. The Treasures of the Crown exhausted by prodigall gifts, and his late chargeable Expedition against the French; the Lands thereof charged with Rents, and Pensions granted to Abbots, Priors, and all sorts of Religious Persons; some of which remained payable, and were paid accordingly, till the time of King James; and, which was worst of all, the Munny of the Realm so *scattered* and mixed, that it could not pass for currant amongst Forreign Nations, to the great dishonour of the Kingdome, and the losse of the Merchant. For, though an infinite Masse of Jewels, treasure in Plate, and ready Munny, and an incredible improvement of Revenue had accrued unto him by such an universall spoyle, and dissolution of Religious Houses, yet was he little or nothing the richer for it. In so much, that in the yeare 1543. being within lesse then seven yeares after the Generall suppression of Religious Houses, he was faine to have recourse for moneyes to his Houses of Parliament; by which he was supplied after an extraordinary manner; the Clergy at the same time giving him a subsidy of 6. s. in the pound, to be paid out of all their Spirituall Promotions, poore stipendary Priests paying each 6. s. 8. d. to encrease the summe. Which also was so soon consumed, that the next yeare he prest his Subjects to a Benevolence, for carrying on his Warr with France and Scotland; and in the next obtained the Grant for all Chanteries, Hospitalls, Colledges, and Free-Chappells, within the Realm, though he lived not to enjoy the benefit of it, as before was said.

Most true it is, that it was somewhat of the latest before he cast his eye on the Lands of Bishoppricks, though there were some who thought the time long till they fell upon them. Concerning which there goes a story, that after the Court-Harpies had devoured the greatest part of the spoyle, which came by the suppression of Abbeyes, they began to seek some other way, to satiate that greedy Appetite, which the division of the former booty had left unsatisfied; and for the satisfying whereof, they found not any thing so necessary as the Bishops Lands. This to effect, Sir Thomas Seimour is employed as the fittest man, as being in favour with the King, as brother to Queen Jane, his most, and best beloved wife; and having the opportunity of access unto him, as being one of the Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber. And he not having any good affection to Arch-Bishop Cramer, desired that the experiment should be tryed on him, and therefore took his time to informe the King, that my Lord of Canterbury did nothing but sell his woods, letting long leases for great fines, and making havock of the Royalties of his Arch-Bishopprick, to raise thereby a fortune to his wife and children; withall, he did acquaint the King, that the Arch-Bishop kept no hospitality, in respect of such a large Revenue; and that in the opinion of many wise men it was more meet for the Bishops to have a sufficient yearly Stipend out of the Exchequer, then to be so encumbered with temporall Royalties, being so great a hindrance to their Studies, and Pastoral Charge, and that the said Lands and Royalties being taken to his Majesties use, would afford him (besides the said Annual Stipends) a great yearly Revenue. The King soon smelt out the Device, and shortly after sent him on an Errand to Lambeth, about dinner time, where he found all the tables in the great Hall to be very bountifully furnished, the Arch-Bishop himselfe accompanied at dinner, with divers persons of Quality, his Table exceeding plentifully served, and all things answerable to the Port of so great a Prelate: Wherewith the King being made

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acquainted

An. 1546. acquainted at his coming back, he gave him such a Ratle for his false information, and the design which visibly depended on it, that neither he, nor any other of the Courtiers, durst stir any further in the suite, whilest King Henry lived.

But the King, considering further of it, could not think fit that such a plausible Proposition, as taking to himselfe the Lands of the Bishops, should be made in vaine. Only he was resolved to prey further off; and not to fall upon the spoyle too neere the Court, for feare of having more partakers in the Booty, then might stand with his profit. And to this end he deales with *Holgate*, preferred not long before from *Landoff* to the See of *Torke*; from whom he takes at one time no fewer then seventy Mannors, and Town Ships, of good old Rents, given him in exchange, to the like yearly value, certain Impropriations, Pensiones, Tithes, and Portions of Tithes, (but all of an extended Rent,) which had accrued unto the Crown by the fall of Abbeyes. Which Lands he laid by Act of Parliament, to the Duchy of *Lancaster*. For which, see 37. Hen. 8. Cap. 16. He dismembred also by these Acts certain Mannors from the See of *London*, in favour of Sir *William Petre*; and others in the like manner from the See of *Canterbury*, but not without some reasonable compensation, or allowance for them. And though by reason of his death, which followed within short time after, there was no further alienation made in his time, of the Churches Patrimony; yet having opened such a Gap, and discovered this secret, that the sacred Patrimony might be alienated with so little trouble; the Courtiers of King Edwards time, would not be kept from breaking violently into it, and making up their own fortune in the spoyle of the Bishopricks. Of which we may speake more hereafter in it's proper place. So impossible a thing it is for the ill example of Great Princes, not to finde followers in all ages, especially where profit, or preferment may be furthered by it.

But then it cannot be denied, but that King Henry left the Church in many Respects, in a better condition then he found it; not only in order to the Reformation of Religion, which none but such a Masculine Prince durst have undertaken, but also in the Polity and endowments of it. The Monasteries and Religious Houses, might possibly be looked upon no otherwise, then as so many excrescences upon the body of the Church; exempt for the most part from the Episcopall Jurisdiction, wholly depending on the Pope, and such as might be taken away, without any derogation to the Church, in Power or Patrimony. But, Bishopricks being more essentiall to the constitution of the same, he did not only preserve, as before he found them, but increased their number. Such of the old Cathedralls as were founded on a Prior and Covent, he changed into a Corporation of secular Priests, consisting of a Deane, and Prebendaries, according to the proportion of their yearly rents, of which sort were the Churches of *Canterbury*, *Winton*, *Durham*, *Elis*, *Rochester*, *Norwich* and *Carlisle*. Six of the wealthier Monasteries he turned into Episcopall Sees, that is to say, the Abbeyes of *Westminster*, *Peter-Borough*, *Bristol*, *Gloucester*, and *Chesler*, with that of *Oxford*, for the See of the Bishop of *Oxon*; assigning to every new Episcopall See its Deane and Chapter, and unto every such Cathedrall, a competent number of Quiremen, and other Officers, all of them liberally endowed and provided for. And that the Church might be continually furnished with sufficient Seminaries; he founded a Grammar Schoole in every one of his Cathedralls, either old or new, with Annuall pensions to the Master, and some allowance to be made to the children yearly; and ordained also, that in each of the two Universities there should be publick Readers, in the faculties of Divinity, Law and Physick; and in the Greek and Hebrew Tongues; all which he pensioned, and endowed with liberall Salaries, as the times then were. Besides which publique benefactions, he confirmed Cardinall Wolfies Colledge in *Oxon*, by the name of *Kings Colledge* first, and of *Christ church* afterwards; and erected that most beautifull pile of *Trinity Colledge* in *Cambridge*; those being the two fairest, and most magnificent

magnificent foundations in the Christian World.

As for the Polity of the Church, he settled it in such a manner, that Arch-Bishops and Bishops might be chosen, confirmed, and consecrated, and all the Subjects be relieved in their suits and Grievances, without having such Recourse to the Court of Rome, as formerly had drained the Realm of so much Treasure. For, having by his Proclamation, of the 19th. of September, Anno 1530. prohibited all addresses and Appeals to the Popes of Rome, he prevailed so far upon his Bishops and Clergy; intangled by the Cardinal's fall in a *Premunire*, that they acknowledged him in their Convocation, to be the *Supreme Head* on Earth of the Church of England, and signified as much in a Publick Instrument, bearing date, the 22th. day of March, next following. Upon this ground were built the Statutes, prohibiting all Appeals to Rome, and for determining all Ecclesiasticall suites and controversies within the Kingdom. 24. Hen. 8. cap. 12. That for the manner of declaring, and consecrating of Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, 25. Hen. 8. Cap. 20. and the prohibiting the payment of all impositions to the Court of Rome; and for obtaining all such dispensations from the See of Canterbury, which formerly were procured from the Popes of Rome, 25. Hen. 8. Cap. 21. and finally, that for declaring the King to be the *Supreme Head* of the Church of England, and to have all Honours and Prebeminences; and amongst others, the first-fruits and tenths of all Ecclesiasticall promotions within the Realm which were annexed unto that Title. In the forme of consecrating Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, and the rule by which they exercised their Jurisdiction, there was no change made, but what the transposition of the Supreme Power, from the Pope to the King, must of necessity infer. For, whereas the Bishops and Clergy in the Convocation Anno 1532. had bound themselves neither to make, nor execute any Canons, or Constitutions Ecclesiasticall, but as they were thereto enabled by the Kings Authority; it was by them desired, assented to by him, and confirmed in Parliament, that all such Canons, and Constitutions, Synodall and Provinciall, as were before in use, and neither Repugnant to the Word of God, the Kings Prerogative Royall, or the known Lawes of the Land, should remaine in force, till a review thereof were made by thirty two Persons of the Kings appointment. Which review, not having been made from that time to this, all the said old Canons, and Constitutions so restrained and qualified, do still remaine in force, as before they did. For this Consult the Act of Parliament 25. Hen. 8. Cap. 1. And this, and all the rest being settled, then followed finally the Act for extinguishing the Power of the Pope of Rome. 28. Hen. 8. Cap. 10. which before we mentioned.

In order to a Reformation in points of Doctrine, he first directed his Bishops and Clergy in their Convocation, Anno 1537. to compile a Book, containing The Exposition of the Creed, the Lords Prayer, the *Avenary*, and the Ten Commandements, together with an Explication of the use and nature of the seven Sacraments. More cleerely in it self, and more agreeable to the Truth of Holy Scripture, then in former times; which book being called *The Infitution of a Christian Man*, was by them presented to the King, who liked thereof so well, that he sent it by Doctor Barlow, Bishop of St. David, to King James the fifth, hoping thereby, to induce him to make the like Reformation in the Realm of Scotland, as was made in England, though therein he was deceived of his expectation. But, this Book having lien dormant for a certain time, that is to say, as long as the six Articles were in force, was afterwards corrected, and explained by the Kings own hand; and being by him so corrected, was sent to be reviewed by Arch-Bishop Cranmer, by him referred (with his own emendations on it) to the Bishops and Clergy, then Assembled in their Convocation, Anno 1543. and by them Approved. VVhich care that Godly Prelate took, as himselfe confesseth in a Letter to a friend of his, bearing date, January 25. because the book being to come out by the Kings Censure and Judgement, he would have nothing in it, which in Bishop M. S. de Esc. in Bishop same, which Momus himselfe could Reprehend. VVhich being done, it was published shortly after, by the name of a Necessary Doctrine and Erudition, for any Christian Cui. p. 5.

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Christian man with an Epistle of the Kings Prefixt before it, in which it was commended to the Perusal of all his subjects, that were Religiously disposed. Now, as the first book was ushered in by an injunction, published in September, Anno 1536. by which all Curates were required to Teach the people to say the Lords Prayer, the Creed, the Ave Mary, and the Ten Commandments, in the English Tongue; so was the second countenanced by a Proclamation which made way unto it, bearing date, May the sixth, 1541, whereby it was commanded, that the English Bible, of the Larger Volume, should publicly be placed in every Parish Church of the Kings Dominions; And here we are to understand, that the Bible having been Translated into the English Tongue, by the great paines of William Tyndall (who after suffered for Religion, in the Reigne of this King) was by the Kings Command suppressd, and the reading of it interdicted by Proclamation; the Bishops, and other Learned men, advising the restraint thereof, as the times then stood. But afterward, the times being changed, and the People better fitted for to great a benefite, the Bishops and Clergy Assembled in their Convocation, Anno 1536. humbly petitioned to the King, that the Bible being faithfully Translated, and purged of such Prologues, and Marginal Notes, as formerly had given offence, might be permitted from thenceforth to the use of the people. According to which Godly motion, his Majesty did not only give Order for a new Translation, but in the Interim he permitted Cromwell, his Vicar General, to set out an Injunction, for providing the whole Bible, both in Latine and English, for the Translation then in use; which was called commonly by the name of Matthews Bible, but was no other than that of Tyndall, somewhat altered, to be kept in every Parish Church throughout the Kingdome. And so it stood (but not with such a Generall observation, as the case required, till the finishing of the new Translation; Printed by Grafton, countenanced by a learned Preface of Arch-Bishop Cranmer, and Authorized by the Kings Proclamation of the sixth of May, as before was said. Finally, that the people might be better made acquainted with the Prayers of the Church, it was appointed, a little before the Kings going to Bolloigne, Anno 1545. that the Letany (being put into the same forme almost in which now it stands) should, from thenceforth be said in the English Tongue. So farr this King had gone, in order to a Reformation, that it was no hard matter for his Son (or for those rather, who had the Managing of Affaires, during his Minority) to go thorough with it.

In Reference to the Regall State he added to the Royal Stile, these three Glorious Attributes, that is to say, *Defender of the Faith, The Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England, and King of Ireland.* In what manner he obtained the Title of *Supreme Head*, conferred upon him by the Convocation, in the year 1530. and confirmed by Act of Parliament, in the 26 years of his Reign, hath been shewne before. That of *Defender of the Faith*, was first bestowed upon him by Pope Leo the tenth, upon the publishing of a Book against Martin Luther, which Book being presented unto the Pope, by the hands of Doctor Clark, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, hath been preserved ever since amongst the choicest Rarities of the Vatican Library. Certain it is, that the Pope was so well pleased with the present, as to receive the same in a Sollemn Assembly of the Cardinalls, and Court of Rome, expressing the contentment which he took therein, by a fluent Oration, the Copy whereof we have in *Speed*, Fol. 991. And whereas, in former times, the French were Honour'd with the Title of *Most Christian*; and the Spaniard lately with the Title of *The Catholick King*, This Pope, in due acknowledgement of so great a Merit, bestowes on Henry the more Glorious Attribute of, *The Defender of the Faith.* Which Bull being dated on the tenth of Octob. Anno 1521. is to be found exemplified in *The Titles of Honour*, and thither I refer the Reader for his satisfaction. Twenty three yeares the King enjoyed this Title, by no other Grant, then the Donation of Pope Leo. But, then considering with himselfe, that it was first

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Granted by that Pope, as a Personall favour, and not intended to descend upon his Posterity, as also, that the Popes, by the reason of such differences as were between them, might possibly take a time to deprive him of it, he resolved to stand no longer on a ground of no greater certainty. And therefore, having summoned his High Court of Parliament, to Assemble on the 29th. of *March*, Anno 1544. he procured this Title to be assured unto his Person, and to be made perpetual to his Heires and Successors, for all times succeeding. For which Consult, the Statute 35. Hen. 8. Cap. 3. And by the Act it was ordained, that whosoever should maliciously diminish any of his Majesties Royall Titles, or seek to deprive him of the same, should suffer death, as in case of Treason; and that from thenceforth the Stile Imperiall should no otherwise be exprest, then in this forme following, that is to say, *N. N.* by the Grace of God, King of *England, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and on Earth, of the Churches of *England, and Ireland*, the Supreme Head. By vertue of which Act Queen *Mary* still retained this Title, though she disclaimed the other of Supreme Head, by Act of Parliament, in the first yeare of her Reign, as being incompatible with her submission, and Relations to the See of *Rome*.

As for the Title of King of *Ireland*, it was first given unto this King, by a Parliament, there holden in the Month of *June*, 1541. under Sir *Anthony Saint-Leiger* being then Lord Deputy. The Acts whereof being transmitted to the King, and by him confirmed, he caused himselfe to be first Proclaimed King of *Ireland*, on the 23th. of *January*, then next following. Which, though it added somewhat to him in point of Title, yet it afforded him no advantage in point of Power; but that the name of King was thought to carry more respect and awe with it amongst the *Irish*, then the Title of *Lord*, which only till that time had been assumed by the Kings of *England*. For, otherwise the Kings of *England*, from the first Conquest of the Country by King *Henry* the second, enjoyed and exercised all manner of Royalties, and Preeminences, which do, or can belong to the greatest Kings; Governing the same by their *Vice-gerents*, to whom sometimes they gave the Title of *Lord Lieutenants*, sometimes *Lord Deputies* of *Ireland*, then whom no *Vice-Roy* in the World comes nearer to the Pomp and splendor of a Sovereign Prince. And though they took no other Title to themselves, then *Lords of Ireland*, yet they gave higher Titles to their Subjects there, many of which they advanced to the Honour, and Degree of Earles. And at the same time, when King *Richard* the second contented himselfe with no Higher Stile then *Lord of Ireland*, he exalted his great Favourite *Robert d'Here*, the tenth Earle of *Oxon*, of that Family, first, to the Dignity and Stile of Marquesse of *Dublin*, and after to the invidious Appellation of Duke of *Ireland*, which he enjoyed unto his death. The Countrey at the same time changed it's Title also, being formerly no otherwise called in our Records, then *Terra Hibernia*, or the Land of *Ireland*, but, from henceforth to be called upon all occasions, in Acts of Parliament, Proclamations, and Letters Patents, by the name of *Regnum Hibernia*, or the Realm of *Ireland*. At the assuming of which new Title, by this King, the *Scots* were somewhat troubled, but the Pope much more; The *Scots* had then some footing in the North-parts of that Iland, and thoughte, the taking of that Title by the Kings of *England*, to tend to the endangering of their possession, or at least to bring them under a Subjection of a Foreign Prince. And on the other side, it was complained of in the Court of *Rome*, as a great and visible encroachment on the Papall Power, to which it only appertained, to erect new Kingdomes; and that the injury was the greater in the present case, because the King holding that Iland by no other Title, (as it was then, and there pretended) then by the Donation of Pope *Adrian* to King *Henry* the second, was not without the Popes consent to assume that Title. But, the King cared as little for the Pope, as he did for the *Scots*, knowing how able he was to make good all his Actings against them both; and not only for enjoying this Title for the rest of his life, but for the leaving of it to his Heires and Successors, though!



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Having thus settled and confirmed the Regall Style, his next care was for settling, and preventing all disputes and quarrells, which might be raised about the Succession of the Crown, if the Prince, his son, should chance to dye without lawfull issue, as he after did. In which, as he discharged the trust reposed in him, so he waved nothing of the Power which he had took unto himself by Act of Parliament, made in that behalfe, in the 35 year of his Reign, as before was noted. In pursuance whereof, finding himself sensibly to decay, but, having his wits and understanding still about him, he framed his last Will and Testament, which he caused to be signed and attested on the 30 of December, Anno 1546, being a full Month before his death. First published by Mr. Fuller, in his Church History of Britain, Lib. 3. Fol. 243, 244. And out of him I shall crave leave to transcribe so much thereof; as may suffice to shew unto posterity the sence he had of his own condition, the vile esteem he had of his sinfull body, what pious, but unprofitable care he took, for the Decent Interment of the same; in what it was wherein he placed the hopes of Eternall life; and finally, what course he was pleased to take in the intailing of the Crown after his decease, by passing over the line of Scotland, and settling the Reversion in the House of *Suffolk*, if his own children should depart without lawfull Issue, as in fine they did. In which, and in some other points, not here summed up, the Reader may best satisfie himselfe by the words and tenour of the Will, which are these that follow.

IN the name of God, and of the Glorious and blessed Virgin, our Lady St. Mary, and of all the Holy Company of Heaven: we Henry, by the Grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland; Defender of the Faith, and in Earth immediately under God, the Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland, of that name the eighth; Calling to our remembrance the great gifts and benefits of Almighty God, given unto us in this Transitory life, give unto him our most lowly and humble thanks, acknowledging our selves insufficient in any part to deserve, or recompence the same. But feare that we have not worthily received the same; and considering further also, that we be, (as all mankind are) mortall, and borne in sin, believing nevertheless, and hoping that every Christian creature living here in this Transitory and Wretched World, under God, dying in stedfast and perfect Faith, endeavouring, and exercising himselfe to execute in this life time, if he have leisure, such good deeds, and charitable workes, as Scripture commandeth and as may be to the Honour and pleasure of God, is Ordained by Christ's Passion to be sacred, and attain eternall Life; of which number we verily trust by his Grace to be one.

And that every creature, the more high that he is in Estate, Honour, and Authority in this World, the more he is bound to love, serve, and thank God, and the more diligently to endeavour himselfe to do good and charitable workes, to the Land, Honour, and Praise of Almighty God, and the Profit of his soul; We also calling to remembrance the dignity, Estate, Honour, Rule and Governance that Almighty God hath called us to in this World; and that neither we, nor any other creature mortall knoweth, the place, time, when, nor where it shall please Almighty God to call him out of this Transitory World; Willing therefore, and minding with Gods grace, before our passage out of the same, to dispose and order our latter Mind, Will, and Testament, in that sort, as we trust is still be acceptable to Almighty God, our only Saviour Jesus Christ, and all the Holy Company of Heaven, and the due satisfaction

fallion of all Gedly brethren in Earth, Have now, being of whole and perfect mind, adhering wholly to the right Faith of Christ, and his Doctrine, repenting also our old and detestable life, and being in perfect will and mind, by his Grace, never to returne to the same, and suchlike, And minding, by Gods Grace, never to vary therefrom as long as any remembrance, truth, or inward knowledge doth, or may, remaine within this mortall body; most humbly and heartily do commend, and bequeath our soul to Almighty God, Who in person of the Son redeemed the same, with his most precious body and blood, in time of his Passion: And for our better remembrance thereof, hath left here with us in his Church Assistant, the Consecration and Administration of his most precious Body and Blood, to our no little Consolation and Comfort, if we as thankfully accept the same, as he lovingly and undeservedly on mans behalfe, hath ordained it for our only benefit, and not his.

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Also we do instantly require, and desire the blessed Virgin Mary, his Mother, with all the Holy Company of Heaven, continually to pray for us, whilst we live in this World, and in the time of passing out of the same, that we may the sooner attain everlasting life, after our departure out of this transitory life, which we do both hope and claime by Christs Passion; And for my body, when the soul is departed, shall then remaine but as a Cadaver, and so returne to the vile matter it was made of; were it not for the Crown and Dignity which God hath called us unto, and that we would not be counted an insinger of honest Worldly Policies, and Customes, when they be not contrary to Gods Lawes, we would be content to have it buried in any place, accustomed for Christian selkes, were it never so vile, for it is but ashes, and to assest it shall returne. Nevertheless, because we would be loath, in the Reputation of the people, to do injury to the Dignity, which we are unworthily called unto, we are content, and also by these presents, Our Last Will and Testament is, to will and order, that our body be buried and interred in the Quire of our Colledge of Windsor, middle way, between the stalls and the High Altar, and there to be made and set, as soon as conveniently may be done after our deasse, by our Executors, at our costs and charges; if it be not done by us in our life time, an Honourable Tomb, for our bones to rest in, which is well onward, and almost made therefore already with a faire Grate about it; in which we will also, that the bones of our true and loving wife, Queene Jane, be put also: And that there be provided, ordained and set, at the cost and charge of us, or of our Executors, if it be not done in our life time, a convenient Altar, Honourably prepared, and apparrelled with all manner of things requisite, and necessary for dayly Masse, there to be said perpetually, while the World shall endure: Also we will, that the Tombs, and Altars of King Henry the sixt, and also of King Edward the fourth, our great Uncle and Grandfather, be made more Princely, in the same place where they now be, at our charge.

Which care being taken for his Tomb, he gives order that all Divine Offices, accustomed for the dead, should be duly Celebrated for him; that at the removal of his body to Windsor, 1000. Marks should be distributed amongst the poore, to the end that they might pray for the remission of his sins, and the Wealth of his soule; that a Revenue of 600 pound per Annum, be settled on the Desne and Chapter of Windsor, for performance of the uses in the Will expressed, and more particularly for the maintainance of thieteen poore Gentlemen, (to be called the Poore Knights of Windsor) at the rate of twelve pence by the day to each of them, with a fee of 3 l. 6 s. 8 d. yearly to be superadded unto him, which should be chosen the Head and Gouverour over all the rest. And that being done, he proceeds to the entailing of the Crown, in this manner following:

And

present, shall be to the said Estate of Our said Daughter Elizabeth knit, and An. 1546 invested.

And, if it shall fortune Our said Daughter Elizabeth to die without Issue of Her Body lawfully begotten, We will, that after Our Decease, and for default of Issue of the several Bodies of Us, and of Our said Son Prince Edward, and of Our said Daughters Mary and Elizabeth, the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises, after Our Decease, shall wholly remain, and come to the Heirs of the Body of the Lady Frances our Niece, eldest Daughter to Our late Sister the French Queen, lawfully begotten. And, for default of such Issue of the Body of the said Lady Frances, We will, that the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises, after Our Decease, and for default of Issue of the several Bodies of Us, and of Our said Son Prince Edward, and of Our Daughters Mary and Elizabeth, and of the Lady Frances lawfully begotten, shall wholly remain, and come to the Heirs of the Body of the Lady Elanor Our Niece, second Daughter to Our said Sister the French Queen, lawfully begotten. And, if it happen the said Lady Elanor to die without Issue of Her Body lawfully begotten, We will, that after Our Decease, and for default of Issue of the several Bodies of Us, and of Our said Son Prince Edward, and of Our said Daughters Mary and Elizabeth, and of the said Lady Frances, and of the said Lady Elanor, lawfully begotten, the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises, shall wholly remain, and come to the next Rightfull Heirs. And We will, that if Our said Daughter Mary do marry without the assent and consent of the Privy Councillours, and others appointed by Us to be of Council to Our said Son Prince Edward, or the most part of them that shall then be alive, thereunto, before the said Marriage, had in Writing, sealed With their Seals, as is aforesaid; That then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the several Bodies of Us, and of Our said Son Prince Edward, lawfully begotten, the said Imperial Crown shall wholly remain, be, and come, to Our said Daughter Elizabeth, and to the Heirs of Her Body lawfully begotten, in such manner and form, as though Our said Daughter Mary were then dead, without any Issue of the Body of Our said Daughter Mary lawfully begotten; Any thing contained in this Our Will, or any Act of Parliament, or Statute, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And in case Our said Daughter, the Lady Mary, do keep, and perform the said condition, expressed, declared, and limited to her Estate in the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises in this Our last Will declared; And that Our said Daughter Elizabeth do not keep, and perform, for her part, the said condition declared, and limited by this Our last Will to the Estate of the said Lady Elizabeth in the said Imperial Crown in this Realm of England, and Ireland, and other the Premises: We will, that then, and from thenceforth, after Our Decease, and for lack of Heirs of the several Bodies of Us, and of Our said Son Prince Edward, and of Our Daughter Mary, lawfully begotten, the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises, shall wholly remain, and come, to the next Heirs lawfully begotten of the said Lady Frances, in such manner and form, as though the said Lady Elizabeth were dead without any Heir of Her Body lawfully begotten; Any thing contained in this Will, or in any Act, or Statute, to the contrary notwithstanding. The remainder over, for lack of Issue of the said Lady Frances lawfully begotten, to be, and continue, to such Persons, like Remainders, and Estates, as is before limited, and declared.

And We, being now at this time (thanks to Almighty God) of perfect Memory, do Constitute, and Ordain these Personages following Our Executors, and Performers of Our last Will and Testament; Willing, Commanding, and Praying them to take upon them the occupation and performances of the same, as Executors: that is to say; The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury; the Lord Wriothesley, Chancellour of England; the Lord St. John, Great
E
Master

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Master of Our Horse; the Earl of Hartford, Great Chamberlain, the Lord Russel, Lord Privy Seal, the Viscount Lisle, Lord High Admiral of England; the Bishop Tonstal of Duresme, Sir Anthony Brown Knight, Master of Our Horses; Sir Edward Mountague Knight, chief Judge of the Common Pleas; Justice Bromly; Sir Edward North Knight, Chancellour of the Augmentations; Sir William Paget Knight Our chief Secretary; Sir Anthony Denny, Sir William Herbert Knight, chief Gentlemen of Our Privy Chamber; Sir Edward Wotton Knight, and Mr. Dr. Wotton, his Brother. And all these we will to be Our Executors, and Councillours of the Privy Council with Our said Son, Prince Edward, in all matters, both concerning His Private affairs, and the Publick affairs of the Realm; Willing and charging them, and every of them, as they must, and shall, answer at the day of Judgement, wholly, and fully, to see this My last Will and Testament performed in all things, with as much speed and diligence as may be, and that none of them presume to meddle with any of Our Treasure, or to do any thing appointed by Our said Will, alone, unless the most part of the whole number of the Co-Executors do consent, and by Writing agree to the same. And will that Our said Executors, or the most part of them, may lawfully do what they shall think most convenient for the execution of this Our Will, without being troubled by Our said Son, or any other for the same. — After which, having taken Order about the payment of His Debts, He proceeds as followeth.

Further, according to the Laws of Almighty God, and for the Fatherly Love, which We bear to Our Son, Prince Edward, and this Our Realm, We declare Him; according to Justice, Equity, and Conscience, to be Our lawful Heir; and do give, and bequeath unto Him the Succession of Our Realms of England and Ireland, with Our Title of France, and all Our Dominions, both on this side the Seas, and beyond: A convenient portion for Our Will and Testament to be reserved. Also We give unto Him all Our Plate, Stuff of Household, Artillery, Ordnance, Ammunition, Ships, Cables, and all other things, and Implements to them belonging, and Money also, and Jewels; saving such portions, as shall satisfy this Our Last Will and Testament: Charging, and commanding Him on pain of Our curse, (seeing He hath so Loving a Father of Us, and that Our chief Labour, and Study in this world, is to establish him in the Crown Imperial of this Realm, after Our Decease, in such sort as may be pleasing to God, and to the health of this Realm,) that He be Ordered and Ruled both in His Marriage, and also in ordering the Affairs of the Realm, as well outward as inward; and also in all His own private Affairs, and in giving of Offices of Charge, by the Advice and Counsel of Our Right-entirely beloved Councillours, the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Lord Wriothesley Chancellour of England, the Lord St. John Master of Our Horse, the Lord Russel Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Hartford Great Chamberlain of England, the Viscount Lisle High Admiral of England, the Bishop Tonstal of Duresme, Sir Anthony Brown Knight Master of Our Horses, Sir William Paget Our chief Secretary, Sir Anthony Denny, Sir William Herbert, Justice Mountague and Bromely, Sir Edward Wotton, Mr. Doctor Wotton, and Sir Edward North: Whom We Ordain, name, and appoint, and by these Presents Signed with Our hand, do make, and constitute Our Privy Council, with Our said Son; and will that they have the Governance of Our most dear Son, Prince Edward, and of all Our Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, and of all the Affairs, publick and private, untill He shall have fully completed the eighteenth year of His Age.

And for because the variety, and number of things, affairs, and matters, are, and may be, such, as We, not knowing the certainty of them before, cannot conveniently prescribe a certain Order, or Rule, unto Our said Councillours, for their behaviours, and proceedings, in this charge which We have now, and do appoint unto them about Our said Son, during the time of His minority afore-
said

said: We therefore, for the special Trust and Confidence, which We have in them, will, and by these Presents, do give, and grant full Power, and Authority, unto Our said Councillours; that they all, or the most part of them, being assembled together in Council, or, if any of them fortune to dye, the more part of them, which shall be for the time living, being assembled in Council together, shall, and may make, devise, and ordain, whatsoever things they, or the more part of them, as afore-said, shall, during the Minority of Our said Son, think meet, necessary, and convenient, for the Benefit, Honour, and Surety of the Weal, Profit, and Commodity of Our said Son, His Realms, Dominions, or Subjects, or the Discharge of Our Conscience. And the same things made, ordained, and devised by them, or the more part of them, as afore-said, shall, and may, lawfully do, execute, and accomplish, or cause to be done, executed, or accomplished, by their Discretions, or the Discretions of the more part of them, as afore-said, in as large and ample manner, as if we had, or did express unto them, by a more special Commission under Our Great Seal of England every particular cause, that may chance, or occur, during the time of Our said Son's Minority, and the self-same manner of Proceeding, which they shall from time to time think meet to use, and follow: Willing, and charging Our said Son, and all others, which shall hereafter be Councillours to Our said Son; that they never charge, molest, trouble, or disquiet Our afore-said Councillours, nor any of them, for the devising, or doing, nor any other person, or persons, for doing that they shall devise, or the more part of them devise, or do, assembled as is afore-said. An. 1546.

And We do charge expressly the same Our entirely-beloved Councillours, and Executours, that they shall take upon them the Rule and Charge of Our said Son and Heir, in all His Causes and Affairs, and of the whole Realm; doing nevertheless all things, as under Him, and in His name, untill Our said Son, and Heir, shall be bestowed, and married by their advice, and that the eighteenth year be expired. Willing, & desiring furthermore, Our said Trusty Councillours, and then all Our Trusty and Assured Servant and Thridly, all other Our Loving Subjects, to aid and assist our fore-named Councillours in the Execution of the Premises, during the afore-said time; not doubting, but that they will in all things deal so truly and uprightly, as they shall have cause to think them well cho'en for the Charge committed unto them: Straightly charging our said Councillours, and Executours, and in God's Name exhorting them, for the singular Trust and special Confidence, which We have, and ever had in them, to have a due and diligent Eye, perfect Zeal, Love, and Affection, to the Honour, Surety, Estate, and Dignity, of Our said Son, and the Good State and Prosperity of this Our Realm; And, that all delays set apart, they well aid, and assist Our said Councillours and Executours, to the performance of this Our present Testament, and last Will in every part, as they will answer before God at the day of Judgement, Cum venerit judicare vivos & mortuos.

And furthermore, for the special Trust and Confidence, which We have in the Earls of Arundel, and Essex, that now be; Sir Thomas Cheney Knight, Treasurer of Our Household; Sir John Gage Knight, Comptroller of Our Household; Sir Anthony Wingfield Knight, Our Vice-Chamberlain; Sir William Peter Knight, one of Our two principal Secretaries; Sir Richard Rich Knight, Sir John Baker Knight, Sir Ralph Sadler Knight, Sir Thomas Symour Knight, Sir Richard Southwel, and Sir Edmond Peckham, Knights: they, and every of them, shall be of Council, for the aiding and assisting of the fore-named Councillours, and Our Executours, when they, or any of them, shall be called by Our said Executours, or the more part of the same.

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Item, *We bequeath to Our Daughters, Mary and Elizabeth's Marriage, they being married to any outward Potentate by the Advice of the aforesaid Councillours (if we bestow them not in Our Life-time) ten thousand pounds in Money, Plate, Jewels, and Household-stuff, for each of them; or a larger sum, as to the discretion of Our Executours, or the more part of them, shall be thought convenient; willing them on My Blessing to be ordered, as well in Marriage, as in all other lawfull things, by the Advice of Our fore-named Councillours: And, in case they will not, then the sum to be ministered at the Councillours Discretions. And Our further Will is, That from the first Hour of Our Death, untill such time, as the said Councillours can provide either of them, or both, some Honourable Marriages, They shall have, each of them, M. M. lb. ultra reprimas, to live upon; willing, and charging the aforesaid Councillours to limit, and appoint to either of them, such said Officers, and Ministers, for Orderance thereof, as may be imployed both to Our Honour, and Theirs. And, for the great Love, Obedience, and Chastness of Life, and Wisdom, being in Our fore-named Wife and Queen; We bequeath unto Her, for Her proper Use, and as it shall please Her to Order it, M. M. lb. in Plate, Jewels, and Stuff of Household, besides such Apparell, as it shall please Her to take, as She hath already: And further We give unto Her M. lb. in Money, with the enjoying of Her Dowry and Joynture, according to Our Grant by Act of Parliament.*

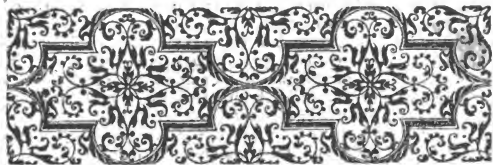
Which said, He bequeathed, in other Legacies, amongst the Lords of His Council, and other of His Principal Officers, whom He had declared for His Executours, the sum of 6433. lb. 6. s. 8. d. And amongst other Knights, and Gentlemen, His Domestick Servants, and such as were in Ordinary Attendance about the Court, (under which stile I find that Patrick before-remembered) the Sum of 583. lb. 6. s. 8. d. Both Sums amounting in the total to 11516. lb. 13. s. 4. d. And so concludeth with a Revocation of all other Wills, and Testaments, by Him formerly made; that onely this might stand in Force, and be effectual, to all Intents and Purposes in the Law whatsoever. Dated 30. December, Signed with His own hand, and Witnessed by eleven of such of His Physicians, and Attendants, as were then about Him.

Such was the Last Will, and Testament, of this Puissant Prince. Of which how little was performed, and how much less should have been performed, if some Great Persons (whom He had nominated for His Executours) might have had their Wills; we shall hereafter show, in fit time, and place. In the mean season we will see Him laid into His Grave: which was done with as much convenient speed, as the necessary Preparations for a Royal Funeral could of right admit. For, on the fourteenth day of February then next following, His Body, being removed in a Solemn and Magnificent manner to *Shene*, near *Richmond*, was the next day with like Solemnity attended to His Castle of *Windfore* (one of the Goodliest, and most Gallant Seats of the Christian World) and there Interred in a Vault, prepared for Himself, and His Dear Wife, *Queen Jane*; as in His Last Will He had desired. For, though a most Magnificent, and Costly Tomb, had been begun for Him, by Cardinal *Wolfe*, in a by-Chapel of that Church, (commonly called, *The Chapel of King Henry the Eighth*;) yet being an unfinished piece, and the King having otherways disposed of His own Interment, a Vault was opened for Him in the midst of the Quire. Into which the Body of the King was no sooner laid, but all His Officers brake their Staves, and threw them into the Grave, (according to the usual Ceremonies on the like Occasions) receiving new ones the next day at the hands of His Son. Nor were the Funeral Rites performed by His own Subjects onely: but a Solemn Obsequie

was

was kept for Him, in the Church of *Nostre-Dame* in *Paris*, by King *Franc. An. 1546.*
cis the First; notwithstanding, that He had been Excommunicated by the
Popes of Rome. So much that Generous Prince preferred His old affections
to this King for former Favours: not onely above the late displeasures con-
ceived against Him, for the taking of *Bulloign*; but even above the *Pope's*
Curse, and all the Fulminations of the Court of *Rome*, which might fol-
low on it. But long it will not be, before we shall discharge this debt, in pay-
ing the like Duty to the Honour of *Francis*; who, dying on the two and
twentieth day of *March* next following, had here an Obsequie, as Solemn
as the Times could give Him. Of which more hereafter.

THE

An. 1548⁶
7

THE
LIFE and REIGN
OF
KING
EDWARD
THE
SIXTH.

Anno Reg. 1. Anno Dom. 1546, 1547.



HENRY being dead, **EDWARD**, His onely surviving Son, at the age of nine years, three moneths, and sixteen days, by the name of King **EDWARD the Sixth**, succeeds His Father in the Throne: (*Charles the Fifth* being then Emperour of Germany, and King of Spain; *Francis of Anglesme* (the last Branch of the Royal Line of *Valois*) King of the French; and *Paul the Third* (of the Noble House of the *Farnesi*) presiding in the Church of Rome. No sooner was His Father dead; but *Edward Earl of Hartford*, and *Sir Anthony Brown*, Master of the Horse, were by the Rest of the Council dispatched in hast to *Hartford-Castle*; where, at that time, He kept His Court, accompanied with His Sister, the Princess *Elizabeth*, about four years elder then Himself. Both whom they brought the next day as far as *Exfield*, where they imparted to Them the sad News of the King's

King's Decease; received by both with such a measure of true Sorrow, that it was very hard to say, whither Their Tears did more obscure, or set forth Their Beauties. The next day, advancing towards London, where he was Proclaimed King with all due Solemnities, He made his Royal Entry into the Tower, on the last of January. Into which He was conducted by Sir John Gage, as the Constable of it, and there received by all the Lords of the Council; who, with great Duty and Affection, did attend His comings, and waiting on Him into the Chamber of Prefence, did very chearfully swear Allegiance to him. The next day, by the general consent of all the Council, the Earl of Hartford, the King's Uncle, was chosen Governour of His Person; and Protectour of His Kingdomes, till He should come unto the Age of eighteen years, and was Proclaimed for such in all parts of London: Esteemed most fit for this high Office, in regard, that he was the King's Uncle by the Mothers side; very near unto Him in Blood, but yet of no capacity to succeed in the Crown: by reason whereof, his Natural Affection, and Duty, was less easie to be over-carried by Ambition. Upon which Ground of civil Prudence, it was both piously, and prudently, Ordained by *Solon*, in the State of Athens, (*) That no man should be made the Guardian unto any Orphan, to whom the Inheritance might fall by the Death of his Ward. For the first Handfelling of his Office, he Knighted the young King, on the sixth of February: Who, being now in a capacity of conferring that Order, bestowed it first on Henry Noble-Thorn, Lord Mayor of London, and presently after on Mr. William Portman, one of the Justices of the Bench; being both dubbed with the same Sword, with which He had received the Order of Knighthood, at the hands of His Vncle.

An. 1547

* Ne quis fieret
Curator, ad quem
post Pupillorum
obitum spectaret
Hæreditas.
Diog. Laert.
in Vita Solonis,
pag. 38.

These first Solemnities being thus passed over, the next care was for the Interment of the Old King and the Coronation of the New. In order to which last, it was thought expedient; to advance some Confidants, and Principal Ministers of State, to higher Dignities and Titles, then before they had; the better to oblige them to a care of the State, the safety of the King's Person, and the preservation of the Power of the Lord Protectour, who chiefly moved in the Design. Yet so far did self-Interest prevail, above all other Obligations, and ties of State; that some of these men thus advanced proved his greatest Enemies: the rest forsaking him, when he had most need to make use of their Friendship. In the first place, having resigned the Office of Lord High Chamberlain, he caused himself to be created Lord Seymour, and Duke of Somerset. Which last Title, (appertaining to the King's Progenitours of the House of Lancaster; and, since the expiring of the Beauforts, conferred on none, but Henry, the Natural Son of the King deceased:) was afterwards charged upon him, as an Argument of his aspiring to the Crown; which past all doubt he never aimed at. His own turn being thus unhappily served, the Lord William Parr, Brother of Queen Katherine Parr, the Relict of the King deceased, (who formerly in the thirty fifth of the said King's Reign, had been created Earl of Essex, with reference to Ann his Wife, Daughter and Heir of Henry Bourchier, the last Earl of Essex of that House;) was now made Marquess of Northampton, in reference to her Extraction from the Beauforts, once the Earls thereof. John Dudley Viscount Lisle, and Knight of the Garter, having resigned his Office of Lord Admiral, to gratifie the Lord Protectour, (who desired to confer that place of Power and Trust, on his younger Brother,) was, in Exchange, created Lord High Chamberlain of England and Earl of Warwick. Which Title he affected in regard of his Discent from the Beauchamps, who for long time had worn that Honour: from whom he also did derive the Title of Viscount Lisle, as being the Son of Edmond Sutton, alias Dudley, and of Elizabeth his Wife, Sister and Heir of John Gray Viscount Lisle, descended, by the Lord John Talbot Viscount Lisle, from Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and Dame Elizabeth his Wife, the direct Heir of Warren Lord Lisle, the last of the Male Issue of that Noble Family. In the next place comes Sir Thomas Wriothley, a man of a very

new

An. 1545⁶
 new Nobility; as being Son of *William Wriothsley*, and Grand-Child of *John Wriothsley*: both of them, in their Times, advanced no higher, then to the Office of an *Herald*; the Father by the Title of *Tork*, the Grand-father by that of *Gar-ter*, *King at Arms*. But this man, being planted in a warmer Son, grew up so fast in the esteem of King *Henry the Eighth*, that he was first made Principal Secretary, afterwards created Baron of *Titchfield*, advanced not long after to the Office of Lord *Chancellor*: And finally, by the said King, installed Knight of the *Gar-ter*, An. 1545. For an addition to which Honours, he was now dignified with the Title of the Earl of *South-hampton*, enjoyed to this day by his Posterity.

These men being thus advanced to the highest Titles; Sir *Thomas Seymour*, the new Lord *Admiral*, is Honoured with the Stile of Lord *Seymour of Sudeley*, and in the beginning of the next year made Knight of the *Gar-ter*; prepared by this accumulation of Honours for his following Marriage, which he had now projected, and soon after compassed. With no less Ceremony, though not upon such lofty Aims, Sir *Richard Rich* (another of the twelve, which were appointed for Subsidiaries, to the great Council of Estate, by the King deceased), was preferred unto the Dignity of Lord *Rich* of *Leez* in *Essex*, the Grand-father of that Robert Lord *Rich*, who by King *James* was dignified with the Title of Earl of *Warwick*, Anno 1618. In the third place came Sir *William Willoughby*, descended from a younger Branch of the House of *Evesby*, created Lord *Willoughby of Parham* in the County of *Suffex*. And in the Rear, Sir *Edmond Sheffield*, advanced unto the Title of Lord *Sheffield* of *Butterwick* in the County of *Lincoln*; from whom the Earls of *Moulgrave* do derive themselves. All which Creations were performed with the accustomed Solemnities on the seventeenth of *February*: and all given out to be designed by King *Henry* before his death, the better to take off the Envy from the Lord Protector; whom otherwise all understanding people must needs have thought to be too prodigal of those Honours, of which the greatest Kings of *England* had been so sparing. For when great Honours are conferred on persons of no great Estates, it raiseth commonly a suspicion amongst the people: That, either some proportionable Revenue must be given them also, to the impoverishing of the King, or else some way left open for them, to enrich themselves out of the purses of the Subject.

These Preparations being dispatched, they next proceed unto the Coronation of the King, performed with the accustomed Rites on the twentieth of the same Moneth by Arch-Bishop *Craumer*. The Form whereof we finde exemplified in a Book, called *The Catalogue of Honour*, published by *Thomas Mills* of *Canterbury*, in the year 1610. In which there is nothing more observable, then this following Passage. *The King*, (saith he) being brought unto the Church of Saint Peter in Westminster, was placed in the Chair of Saint Edward the Confessor, in the midst of a Throne seven steps high. This Throne was erected near unto the Altar, upon a Stage arising with Steps on both sides, covered with Carpets and Hangings of Arras. Where, after the King had rested a little, being by certain noble Courtiers carried in another Chair, unto the four sides of the Stage; He was by the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury declared unto the People (standing round about) both by God's and Man's Laws to be the Right and Lawfull King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*; and Proclaimed that day to be Crowned, Consecrated, and Anointed. Unto whom He demanded whether they would obey and serve, or Not? By whom it was again, with a loud cry, answered; God save the King: and, Ever live his Majesty. Which Passage I the rather note; because it is observed, that, at the Coronation of some former Kings, The Arch-Bishop went to the four squares of the Scaffold, and with a loud voice asked the Consent of the People. But this was at such Times; and in such Cases only, when the Kings came unto the Crown by Disputed Titles; for maintenance whereof the Favour and Consent of the people seemed a matter necessary: (as at the Coronations of King *Henry the Fourth*, or King *Richard the Third*) and not when it devolved upon them, as it did upon this King, by a Right unquestioned.

The

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The Coronation was accompanied, as the Custome is, with a general Pardon. But as there never was a Feast so great, from which some men departed not with empty bellies; so, either out of Envy, or some former Grudge, or for some other cause unknown, six Persons were excluded from the taste of this gracious Banquet: that is to say, the Lord *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, a condemned Prisoner in the *Tower*; *Edward Lord Courtney*, eldest Son to the late Marquess of *Exeter* beheaded in the last times of King *Henry the Eighth*; *Cardinal Pole*, one of the Sons of *Margaret Countess of Salisbury*, proscribed by the same King also; Doctour *Richard Pate*, declared Bishop of *Worcester*, in the place of *Hierome de Nugaticis*, in the year 1534. and by that Name subscribing to some of the first Acts of the Council of *Trent*: who, being sent to *Rome* on some Publick Employment, chose rather to remain there in perpetual Exile, then to take the Oath of Supremacy at his coming home; as by the Laws he must have done, or otherwise have fared no better, then the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, who lost his head on the refusal. Of the two others, *Forſcuc* and *Throgmorton*, I have found nothing, but the Names: and therefore can but name them onely. But they all lived to better times: the Duke of *Norfolk* being restored by Queen *Mary* to his Lands, Liberty, and Honours; as the Lord *Courtney* was to the Earldom of *Devonshire*, enjoyed by many of his Noble Progenitours; Cardinal *Pole* admitted first into the Kingdom, in the capacity of a Legate from the Pope of *Rome*, and after *Cranmer's* death advanced to the See of *Canterbury*; and Doctour *Pate* preferred unto the actual Possession of the See of *Worcester*, of which he formerly had enjoyed no more but the empty Title.

These Great Solemnities being thus passed over, the *Grandees* of the Court began to entertain some thoughts of a Reformation. In which they found Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, and some other Bishops, to be as forward as themselves; but on different ends: endeavoured by the Bishops, in a pious Zeal for rectifying such things; as were amiss in God's publick Worship; but by the Courtiers, on an Hope to enrich themselves by the spoil of the Bishopricks. To the Advancement of which work the Conjunction seemed as proper, as they could desire. For first the King, being of such tender age, and wholly Governed by the Will of the Lord Protector, who had declared himself a friend to the *Lutheran* Party in the time of King *Henry*, was easie to be moulded into any form, which the authority of Power and Reason could imprint upon Him. The Lord *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, and Doctour *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, (who formerly had been the greatest Sticklers at the Council-Table in Maintinance of the Religion of the Church of *Rome*) were not long able to support it: the one of them being a condemned Prisoner in the *Tower*, as before was said; and the other, upon some just displeasure, not named by King *Henry* amongst the Councellours of State, who were to have the managing of Affairs in his Son's Minority. *Bonner*, then Bishop of *London*, was absent at that time in the Court of the Emperour; to whom he had been sent Embassadour by the former King. And no professed Champion for the *Papacy* remained amongst them, of whom they had cause to stand in doubt: but the new Earl of *Southampton*. Whom when they were not able to remove from his old Opinions, it was resolved to make him less both in Power and Credit; so, that he should not be able to hinder the pursuit of those Counsels, which he was not willing to promote. And therefore on the sixth of *March*, the Great Seal was taken from him by the King's Command, and for a while committed to the custody of Sir *William Pawlet*, Created Lord *St. John* of *Basing*, and made Great Master of the Household by King *Henry the Eighth*.

And on the other side it was thought expedient, for the better carrying on of the Design, not onely to release all such as had been committed unto Prison; but also to recall all such as had been forced to abandon the Kingdom, for not submitting to the Superstitions and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*. Great were the Numbers of the first, who had their Fetters stricken off by this merciful

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 full Prince, and were permitted to enjoy that Liberty of Conscience; for which they had suffered all Extremities in His Father's time. Onely it is observed of one *Thomas Debbis*, once Fellow of Saint *John's-College* in *Cambridge*, condemned for speaking against the *Mass*, and thereupon committed to the Counter in *Bread-street*: that he alone did take a view of this Land of *Canaan*, into which he was not suffered to enter. It being so ordered by the Divine Providence, that he died in Prison, before his Pardon could be signed by the Lord Protector. Amongst the rest, which were in number very many, those of chief note were, Doctour *Miles Coverdale*, after Bishop of *Exeter*; Mr. *John Hooper* after Bishop of *Glocester*; Mr. *John Philpot*, after Arch-Deacon of *Wichster*; Mr. *John Rogers*, after one of the Prebends of Saint *Paul's*; and many others, eminent for their Zeal and Piety: which they declared by preferring a good Conscience before their Lives, in the time of Queen *Mary*.

But the business was of greater Moment, then to expect the coming back of the Learned men: who though they came not time enough to begin the work; yet did they prove exceeding serviceable in the furtherance of it. And therefore, neither to lose time, nor to press too much at once upon the People, it was thought fit to smooth the way to the intended Reformation, by setting out some Preparatory *Injunctions*; such as the King might publish by his own Authority, according to the example of His Royal Father in the year 1536. and at some times alter. This to be done by sending out Commissioners into all parts of the Kingdom, armed with Instructions to enquire into all Ecclesiastical Concernments, in the manner of a Visitation; directed by the King, as Supreme Head on earth of the Church of *England*. Which Commissioners, being distributed into several Circuits, were accompanied with certain Learned, and Godly Preachers, appointed to instruct the People, and to facilitate the work of the Commissioners, in all Towns, and Places, where they sate. And, that the People might not cool, or fall off again, in, and from that, which had been taught them by the Learned Preachers; they were to leave some Homilies to the same effect with the *Parish-Priest*: which the Arch-Bishop had composed; not onely for the help of unpreaching Ministers, but for the regulating, and instructing even of Learned Preachers. Which *Injunctions* being agreed upon by such of the Great Council, as favoured the Design of the Reformation; and the *Commissions* drawn in due form of Law by the Counsel learned: they were all tendered to the Lord Chancellour *Wriothesley*, that the Authority of the Great Seal might be added to them. Which he, who was not to be told what these matters aimed at, refused to give consent unto: and so lost the Seal, committed (as before is said) to the Custody of the Lord Great Master, by whom the said *Commissions* were dispatched, and the *Visitors* thereby Authorized in due form of Law. And here it is to be observed, that, besides the Points contained in the said *Injunctions*, the Preachers above-mentioned were more particularly instructed to perswade the People from Praying to the Saints, from making Prayers for the dead, from Adoring of Images, from the use of Beads, Ashes, and Processions, from *Mass*, *Diriges*, Praying in unknown Languages, and from some other such like things; whereunto long Custome had brought a Religious Observation. All which was done to this intent; That the People in all places, being prepared by little and little, might with more ease, and less opposition, admit the total Alteration in the face of the Church, which was intended in due time to be introduced.

Now, as for the *Injunctions* above-mentioned, although I might exemplifie them, as they stand at large in the First Edition of the *Acts and Monuments*, (fol. 684.) yet I shall choose rather to present them in a smoother Abstract; as it is done unto my hand by the Church-Historian: the Method of them onely altered in this manner following.

That all Ecclesiastical Persons observe, and cause to be observed, the Laws for the abolishing the pretended and usurped Power of the Bishop of *Rome*, and Confirmation of the King's Authority and Supremacy: and four times in the year,

year, at the least, that they teach the People, That the one was now justly taken away, (according to the word of God) and that the other was, of most Legal Duty, onely to be obeyed by all the Subjects.

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That, once a Quarter, at the least, they sincerely declare the Word of God, dissuading the People from Superstitious Fancies of *Pilgrimages*, *Praying to Images*, &c. exhorting them to the Works of *Faith*, *Mercy*, and *Charity*: 3. And that *Images*, abused with *Pilgrimages*, and *Offerings* thereunto, be forthwith taken down, and destroyed, and that no more *Wax-Candles*, or *Tapers*, be burnt before any Image; but onely two lights upon the High Altar, before the *Sacrament*, shall remain still, to signify, That *Christ is the very Light of the World*.

That every *Holy-Day*, when they have no Sermon, the *Pater-Noster*, *Credo*, and *Ten Commandments*, shall be plainly recited in the Pulpit to the Parishioners. 5. And that Parents, and Masters, bestow their Children, and Servants, either to Learning, or some honest Occupation.

That, within three Moneths after this *Visitation*, the *Bible*, of the Larger Volume, in *English*; and within twelve Moneths *Erasmus* his *Paraphrases* on the *Gospels*, be provided, and conveniently placed in the Church, for the People to read therein. 20. And that every Ecclesiastical Person, under the Degree of a *Batchelour of Divinity*, shall within three Moneths after this *Visitation*, provide of his own *The New Testament* in *Latine* and *English*, with *Erasmus* his *Paraphrases* thereon. And that Bishops, by themselves, and their Officers, shall Examine them, how much they have profited in the Study of *Holy Scripture*.

That such, who in Cases expres'd in the Statute are able from their Benefices, leave Learned, and expert Curates, to supply their places. 14. That all such Ecclesiastical Persons, not resident upon their Benefices, and able to dispend yearly xx. pounds, and above, shall in the presence of the Church-Wardens, or some other honest men, distribute the fourth part of their Revenues amongst the poor of the Parish. 15. And that every Ecclesiastical Person shall give competent Exhibition to so many Scholars in one of the Universities, as they have hundred pounds a year in Church-Promotions.

That a fifth part of their Benefices be bestowed on their Mansion-Houses, or Chancels, till they be fully repaired. 8. And that no Ecclesiastical Persons haunt Ale-houses, or Taverns, or any place of unlawfull Gaming.

That they Examine such as come to Confession in *Lent*, whether they can recite their *Credo*, *Pater-Noster*, and *Ten Commandments*, in *English*, before they receive the *Blessed Sacrament* of the Altar; or else they ought not to presume to come to God's Board.

That none be admitted to Preach, except sufficiently Licenced. 11. That, if they have heretofore extolled *Pilgrimages*, *Reliques*, *Worshipping of Images*, &c. they now openly recant, and reprove the same, as a Common Errour, groundless in Scripture: 12. That they detect, and present such, who are *Letours* of the Word of God in *English*, and *Fantours* of the Bishop of *Rome* his pretended Power.

That no Person, from henceforth, shall alter any *Fasting-day*, or manner of *Common-Prayer*, or *Divine Service*, (otherwise then is specified in these *Injunctions*) untill otherwise Ordered by the King's Authority. 21. And, that, in time of *High Mass*, he, that sayeth, or singeth a *Psalm*, shall read the *Epistle* and *Gospel* in *English*, and one Chapter in the *New Testament* at *Mattens*, & another at *Even-song*; And that, when nine *Lessons* are to be read in the Church, three of them shall be omitted with *Responses*: And at the *Even-song*, the *Responses*, with all the *Memories*. By which last word I understand the *Anniversary Commemoration* of deceased Persons on the day of their deaths, which frequently were expressed by the name *Obits*.

That every Dean, Arch-Deacon, &c. being a Priest, Preach by himself, personally, every year at least. 27. That they Instruct their People not obstinately to violate the Ceremonies of the Church, by the King Commanded to be observed, and not as yet abrogated. And on the other side, that whosoever doth Superstitiously abuse them, doth the same to the great Perill of his

An. x. 54 } 6 Souls health: 25. And that no Curate admit to the Communion such, who
7 are in Rancor, and Malice with their Neighbours, till such controversies be reconciled.

23. That, to avoid Contentions, and strife, which heretofore have risen amongst the King's Subjects, by challenging of places in *Procession*; no *Procession* hereafter be used about the Church, or Church-yard: but, immediately before *High-Mass*, the *Letany* shall be distinctly said, or sung in *English*; none departing the Church without just cause, and all ringing of Bells (save one) utterly forborn.
28. That they take away, and destroy all *Shrines*, *Covering of Shrines*, *Tables*, *Candlesticks*, *Trindils*, and *Rolls of Wax*, *Pictures*, *Paintings*, and other Monuments of *feigned Miracles*; so that no Memory of them remain in *Walls*, or *Windows*: exhorting their Parishioners to do the like in their several houses.
24. That the *Holy-day*, at the first beginning *Godly-Instituted and ordained*, be wholly given to God, in hearing the Word of God read and taught, in private and publique Prayers, in acknowledging their Offences to God, and amendment, in reconciling themselves to their Neighbours, receiving the Communion, Visiting the sick, &c. Onely it shall be lawfull for them, in time of Harvest, to labour upon *Holy* and *Festival* days, and save that thing which God hath sent; and that scrupulosity, to abstain from working upon those days, doth grievously offend God.
13. That a *Register Book* be carefully kept in every Parish for *Weddings*,
29. *Christenings*, and *Burials*: 29. That a strong Chest, with an hole in the upper part thereof (with three keys thereunto belonging) be provided to receive the Charity of the People to the Poor; and the same, at convenient times, be distributed unto them in the presence of the Parish. And that a comely Pulpit be provided, in a convenient place.
32. That, because of the lack of Preachers, Curates shall read *Homilies*,
36. which are, or shall be set forth by the King's Authority. 36. That, when any such *Sermon*, or *Homily* shall be had, the *Primes* and *Hours* shall be omitted.
18. That none, bound to pay *Tithes*, detain them, by colour of Duty omitted by their Curates, and so redoubt one wrong with another. 33. And whereas many indiscrete persons do incharitably condemn, and abuse Priests; having small Learning; His Majesty chargeth His Subjects, That from henceforth they be reverently used, for their Office and Ministration sake: 31. And, that, to avoid the detestable sin of *Simonie*, the Seller shall lose his right of Patronage for that time, and the Buyer to be deprived, and made unable to receive Spiritual Promotion.
23. That, to prevent sick persons in the damnable vice of Despair, *They shall learn, and have always in readines*; such comfortable places, and Sentences of Scripture; as do set forth the Mercies, Benefits, and Goodness of God Almighty towards all penitent, and believing persons: 30. But that Priests be not bound to go visit Women in Child-bed; except in times of dangerous sickness; and not to fetch any Coars, except it be brought to the Church-yard. 34. That all persons, not understanding *Latine*, shall pray on no other *Primer*, but what lately was set forth in *English* by King Henry the Eighth; and that such, who have knowledge in the *Latine*, use no other also: that all Graces before, and after Meat, be said in *English*; and no *Grammar* taught in Scholes, but that which is set forth by Authority. 39. That Chantry-Priests teach Youth to read, and write.
17. And finally, That these *Injunctions* be read once a Quarter.

Als, & Mon.
fol. 118.2.

Besides these general *Injunctions* for the whole Estate of the Realm, there were also certain others, particularly appointed to the Bishops onely; which, being delivered unto the Commissioners, were likewise by them in their *Visitations* committed unto the said Bishops, with charge to be inviolably observed and

and kept, upon pain of the King's Majesties displeasure: the effect whereof is, as *An. 1546*
in manner followeth.

1. That they should, to the utmost of their power, wit, and understanding, see, and cause all, and singular, the King's Injunctions heretofore given, or after to be given, from time to time, in, and through their Dioceses, duly, faithfully, and truly to be kept, observed, and accomplished. And, that they should Personally Preach within their Dioceses, every Quarter of a year, once at the least: that is to say, once in their Cathedral Churches, and thrice in other several places of their Dioceses, whereas they should see it most convenient and necessary; except they had a reasonable excuse to the contrary. Likewise, that they should not retain into their Service, or Household, any Chaplain, but such as were Learned, and able to Preach the Word of God; and those they should also cause to Exercise the same.

2. And Secondly, That they should not give Orders to any Person; but such as were Learned in Holy Scripture: neither should deny them to such, as were Learned in the same, being of honest conversation, or living. And Lastly, That they should not at any time, or place, Preach, or set forth unto the People, any Doctrine contrary, or repugnant to the effect, and intent, contained, or set forth in the King's Highness's Homilies: neither yet should admit, or give Licence to Preach to any, within their Dioceses, but to such as they should know (or at least assuredly trust,) would do the same: And, if at any time, by hearing, or by report proved, they should perceive the contrary; they should then incontinent not only inhibit that Person so offending, but also punish him, and revoke their Licence.

There was also a Form of Bidding Prayer prescribed by the Visitors, to be used by all Preachers in the Realm; either before, or in their Sermons, as to them seemed best. Which Form of Bidding Prayer (or Bidding of the Banns, as it was then commonly called) was this, that followeth.

You shall Pray for the whole Congregation of Christ's Church, and specially for this Church of England and Ireland: wherein first I commend to your devout Prayers the King's most Excellent Majesty, Supreme Head immediately under God of the Spirituality and Temporality of the same Church: And for Queen Katharine Dowager, and also for my Lady Mary; and my Lady Elizabeth, the King's Sisters.

Secondly, You shall Pray for my Lord Protector's Grace, with all the rest of the King's Majesty His Council's for all the Lords of His Realm, and for the Clergy, and the Commons of the same: beseeching God Almighty, to give mercy of them, in his degree, grace to us themselves in suchwise, as may be to God's Glory, the King's Honour, and the Vernal of this Realm.

Thirdly, You shall Pray for all them, that be departed out of this World in the Faith of Christ; that they with us, and we with them, at the day of Judgement, may rest, both body and soul, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the Kingdom of Heaven.

Such were the Orders, and Injunctions, wherewith the King's Commissioners were furnished for their Visitation. Most of them such, as had been formerly given out by Cromwell, or otherwise published and pursued (but not without some intermissions) by the King deceased, and therefore to be put in Execution with the greater safety. For though the young King, by Reason of his tender Age, could not but want a great proportion of His Father's Spirit, for carrying on a work of such weight and moment; yet he wanted nothing of that power in Church-concernment, which either Naturally was inherent in the Crown Imperial,

An. 1542⁵⁶ perial, or had been Legally vested in it by *Acts of Parliament*. Neither could His Being in Minority, nor the Writings in His Name by the Lord Protector, and the Rest of the Council, make any such difference in the Case; as to invalidate the Proceedings, or any of the Rest which followed in the Reformation. For, if they did, the *Objection* would be altogether as strong against the Reformation, made in the Minority of King *Josias*, as against this, in the Minority of the present King. That of *Josias* being made (as *Josephus* (*) telleth us) by the Advice of the Elders: as this of King EDWARD the Sixth by the Advice of the Council. And yet it cannot be denied, but that the Reformation made under King *Josias*, by Advice of His Council, was no less pleasing unto God, nor less valid in the Eyes of all His Subjects: then those of *Jehoshaphat*, and *Hezekiah*, in their Riper years; who perhaps acted singly on the strength of their Own Judgements onely, without any Advice. Now of *Josias* we are told by the said Historian; That, When He grew to be twelve years old, He gave manifest Approbation of His Piety, and Justice. For He drew the People to a conformable Course of Life, and to the Destruction and Abolishing of Idols, that were no Gods, and to the Service of the Onely True God of their Fore-Fathers. And, considering the Allions of His Predecessours, He began to Rectifie them in that, wherein they were deficient, with no less Circumspection, then if He had been an Old Man; And that, which He found to be Correspondent, and Advisedly done by them, that did He both maintain and imitate. All which things He did, both by Reason of His Innated Wisdom, as also by the Admonishment and Council of His Elders: in following orderly the Laws; not onely in matters of Religion, but of Civil Politie. Which puts the Parallel betwixt the two young Kings, in the Case before us, above all Exception; and the Proceedings of King Edward, or His Council rather, beyond all Dispute.

Now, whereas Question hath been made, whether the twenty fourth *Injunction*, for Labouring on the Holy-Day in time of Harvest, extend as well to the Lord's Day, as the Annual Festivals: The matter seems, to any well-discerning eye, to be out of Question. For in the third Chapter of the Statute made in the fifth and sixth years of King Edward the Sixth, (when the Reformation was much more advanced, then it was at the present) the Names and Number of such Holy Days, as were to be observed in this Church, are thus layed down; That is to say, All Sundays in the year, the Feasts of the Circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Epiphany, &c. with all the Rest, still kept, and there named particularly. And then it followeth in the Act, That it shall, and may, be lawful for every Husband-man, Labourer, Fisher-man, and to all, and every other person or persons, of what Estate, Degree, or Condition, he, or they, be, upon the Holy-Days afore-said, in Harvest, or at any other times in the year, when necessity shall so require, to Labour, Ride, Fish, or work any kind of work, at their free-Will and Pleasure; any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding. The Law being such, there is no question to be made in point of practice, nor consequently of the meaning of the King's *Injunction*. For further opening of which Truth, we finde, that not the Country onely, but the Court were indulged the Liberty of attending business on that day; it being Ordered by the King, amongst other things, That the Lords of the Council should upon Sundays attend the publique Affairs of this Realm, dispatch Answers to Letters for good order of State, and make full dispatches of all things concluded the Week before: Provided alwaies, That they be present at Common Prayer, and that on every Sunday-Night the King's Secretary should deliver him a Memorial of such things, as are to be debated by the Privy Council in the week ensuing. Which Order, being compared with the words of the Statute, may serve sufficiently to satisfie all doubts, and scruples, touching the true intent and meaning of the said *Injunction*.

But, as this Question was not started till the Later Times, when the Lord's Day began to be advanced into the Reputation of the Jewish Sabbath; so was there nothing in the rest of the said *Injunctions*, which required a Commentary. Some words, and Passages therein, which seem absurd to us of this present

* *Antiqu. Jud.*
lib. 10, cap. 4.

present Age, being then clearly understood by all, and every one, whom they did concern; Published, and given in charge; by the Commissioners in their several Circuits, with great Zeal and Cheerfulness; and no less readily Obeyed in most parts of the Realms, both by Priests and People: who observed nothing in them, either new, or strange, to which they had not been prepared in the Reign of the King deceased. None forwarder in this Compliance, then some Learned men, in, and about the City of London; who not long since had shewed themselves of a contrary Judgement: Some of them running before Authority, and others keeping even pace with it; but few so confident of themselves as to lag behind. It was Ordered in the twenty first; *That, as the time of High Mass, the Epistle, and Gospel should be read in the English Tongue: and, That both at the Mattens, and Even-Song, a Chapter out of the New Testament should be also read.* And, for Example to the rest of the Land, the *Compline*, being a part of the Evening Service, was sung in the King's Chapel on Monday in the Easter-week, then falling on the eleventh of April in the English Tongue. Doctour Smith, Master of Whittington-College in London, and Reader in Divinity at the King's-College at Oxford, (afterwards better known by the name of Christ-Church) had before published two Books: One of them written, *In Defence of the Mass*; The other endeavouring to prove, *That unwritten Verities ought to be believed, under pain of Damnation.* But, finding that these Doctrines did not now bear according to the Pulse of the Times, he did voluntarily retract the said Opinions; declaring in a Sermon at Saint Paul's Cross, on Sunday the fifteenth of May, that his said former Books, and Teachings, were not only erroneous, but Heretical. The like was done in the Month next following by Doctour Pern, afterwards Master of Peter-House in Cambridge; who, having on Saint George's day delivered, in the Parish-Church of Saint Andrew Under-shaft, for sound Catholick Doctrine, *That the Pictures of Christ, and of the Saints were to be adored*; upon the seventeenth day of June, declared himself in the said Church to have been deceived in that, what he before had taught them, and to be sorry for delivering such Doctrine to them. But these men might pretend some Warrant from the King's Injunctions, which they might conceive it neither fit, nor safe to oppose: and therefore, that it was the wisest way, to strike Sail betimes, upon the shooting of the first Warning-Piece to bring them in. But no man was so much before hand with Authority, as one Doctour Glasier; who, as soon as the Fast of Lent was over, (and it was well he had the Patience to stay so long) affirmed publicly in a Sermon at Saint Paul's Cross; *That, The Lent was not ordained of God to be Fasted, neither the Eating of Flesh to be forbidden, but that the same was a Politick Ordinance of men, and might therefore be broken by men at their pleasures.* For which Doctrine as the Preacher was never questioned, the Temper of the Times giving encouragement enough to such Extravagancies; so did it open such a Gap to Carnal Liberty, that the King found it necessary to shut it up again by a Proclamation on the sixteenth of January, commanding Abstinence from all Flesh, for the Lent then following.

But there was something more, then the Authority of a Minour King, which drew on such a General Conformity to these Injunctions: and thereby smoothed the way to those Alterations, both in Doctrine and Worship; which the Grandees of the Court, and Church, had began to fashion. The Lord Protectour, and his Party were more experienced in Affairs of State; then to be told, That, "All great Counsels, tending to Innovation in the Publick Government, (especially where Religion is concerned therein) are either to be backed by Arms, or otherwise prove destructive to the Undertakers. For this cause, he resolves to put himself into the Head of an Army: as well for the security of His Person, and the Preservation of his Party; as for the carrying on of the Design against all Opponents. And, for the Raising of an Army, there could not be a fairer Colour, nor a more popular Pretence, then a War in Scotland: not to

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be made on any new emergent Quarrel, which might be apt to breed suspicion in the Heads of the People; but in Pursuit of the great Project of the King deceased, for Uniting that Realm (by the Marriage of their young Queen to His only Son) to the Crown of *England*. On this pretense Levies are made in all parts of the Kingdom, great store of Arms and Ammunition drawn together to advance the service, considerable Numbers of Old Souldiers brought over from *Bulloign*, and the Peeces which depended on it, and good Provision made of Shipping, to attend the Motions of the Army upon all occasions. He entertained also certain Regiments of *Walloons*, and *Germanes*: not out of any great Opinion, which he had of their Valour; (though otherwise of good Experience in the Wars) but because they were conceived more likely to enforce Obedience, (if his Designs should meet with any Opposition) then the Natural *English*.

But in the first place Care was taken, that none of the neighbouring Princes should either hinder his Proceedings, or assist the Enemy. To which end Doctor *Wotton*, the first Dean of *Canterbury*, then Resident with the Queen Dowager of *Hungary*, (who at that time was Regent of the Estates of *Flanders* for *Charles the Fifth*) was dispatched unto the *Emperour's* Court: there to succeed in the place of Doctor *Bonner*, Bishop of *London*; who, together with Sir *Francis Bryan*, had formerly been sent Ambassadors thither from King *Henry the Eighth*. The Principal part of his Employment, besides such matters as are incident to all Ambassadors, was to divert the *Emperour* from concluding any League with *France*, contrary to the Capitulations made between the *Emperour* and the King deceased; but to deal with him, above all things, for declaring himself an Enemy to all of the *Scottish* Nation, but such as should be Friends to the King of *England*.

And, because some Reminders of Hostility did still remain between the *English* and the *French*, (notwithstanding the late peace made between the Crowns) it was thought fit to sweeten, and oblige that People, by all the acts of Correspondence, and friendly Neighbourhood. In Order whereunto it was commanded by the King's Proclamation, That Restitution should be made of such Ships and Goods, which had been taken from the *French* since the Death of King *Henry*. Which being done also by the *French*, though far short in the value of such Reprisals as had been taken by the *English*: there was good hope of coming to a better understanding of one another: and that, by this Cessation of Arms, both Kings might come in short time to a further Agreement. But that which seemed to give most satisfaction to the Court of *France*, was the performance of a solemn Obsequie for King *Francis the First*; who left this Life on the twenty second day of *March*, and was Magnificently Interred amongst His Predecessours, in the Monastery of *Saint Dennis*, not far from *Paris*. Whose Funerals were no sooner Solemnized in *France*: but Order was given for a *Dirige* to be sung in all the Churches in *London*, on the nineteenth of *June*, as also in the Cathedral Church of *Saint Paul*; in the Quire whereof, being hung with black, a sumptuous Herse had been set up for the present Ceremony. For the next day the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, assisted with Eight other of the Bishops, all in their Rich Mitres, and other their Pontificals, did sing a Mass of *Requiem*; the Funeral Sermon being preached by Doctor *Ridley*, Lord Elect of *Rocheſter*: who, if he did his part therein, as no doubt he did, could not but magnifie the Prince for His Love to Learning. Which was so great, and eminent in Him that He was called by the *French*, *L' pere des Arts & des Sciences*, and *The Father of the Muses* by some Writers of other Nations. Which Attributes as He well deserved, so did He Sympathize in that Affection, (as he did in many other things) with King *Henry the Eighth*: of whose Munificence for the Encouragements of Learning we have spoke before.

This great Solemnity being thus Honourably performed, the Commissioners for the Visitation were dispatched to their several Circuits; and the Army drawn from

from all parts to their *Rendez-vous*, for the War with Scotland. Of which two Actions, that of the *Visitation*, as the easiest, and meeting with a People, which had been long trained up in the Schole of Obedience, was carried on, without any shew of Opposition; submitted to upon a very small Dispute, even by some of those Bishops, who were conceived most likely to have disturbed the business. The first, who declared his avernesnes to the King's Proceedings, was Dr. *Stephen Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*: who, stomaching his being left out of the List of the Council, appeared more cross to all their doings, then other of his Order. For which being brought before their Lordships, and not giving them such satisfaction, as they looked for from him, they sent him Prisoner to the *Fleet*; where he remained from the twenty fifth of *September*, till the seventh of *January*: the King's *Commissioners* proceeding in the meantime without any disturbance.

With less avernesnes, but with success not much unlike, was the business entertained by Dr. *Edmund Bonner*, then Bishop of *London*: whom the *Commissioners* found far more tractable then could have been expected from a man of so rough a Nature, and one so cordially affected to the Church of *Rome*. The *Commissioners* Authorised for this Employment were, Sir *Anthony Cook*, and Sir *John Godsal*, Knights, *John Godsal*, & *Christopher Nevinson*, Doctors of the Laws; and *John Madew*, Doctor in Divinity: who, sitting in *St. Paul's Church* on the first day of *September*, called before them the said Bishop *Bonner*, *John Royston*, the renowned *Polydore Virgil*, and many other of the Dignitaries of the said Cathedral: to whom, the Sermon being done, and their Commission openly read, they ministred the Oath of the King's Supremacy, according to the Statute of the thirty first of King *Henry the Eighth*; requiring them withall to present such things, as stood in need to be Reformed. Which done, they delivered to him a Copy of the said *Injunctions*, together with the *Homilies* set forth by the King's Authority; received by him with Protestation, that he would obieve them, if they were not contrary to the Law of God, and the Statutes and Ordinances of the Church. Which Protestation he desired might be enrolled amongst the *Acts* of the Court. But afterwards, considering better with himself, as well of his own Danger, as of the Scandal and ill Consequents, which might thence arise, he addressed himself unto the King; revoking his said Protestation, and humbly submitting himself to His Majestie's Pleasure, in this manner following.

Whereas I, Edmond Bishop of London, at such time, as I received the King's Majestie's Injunctions, and Homilies of my most Dread and Sovereign Lord, at the Hands of His Highness's Visitours, did unadvisedly make such Protestation; as now, upon better consideration of my Duty of Obedience, and of the evil Example, that might ensue unto others thereof, appeareth to me neither Reasonable, nor such as might well stand with the Duty of a most humble Subject: for so much, as the same Protestation, at my Request, was then by the Register of the Visitation Enacted, and put in Record: I have thought it my Duty, not onely to declare before your Lordships, that I do now, upon better consideration of my Duty, renounce, and revoke my said Protestation; but also most humbly beseech your Lordships, that this my Revocation of the same may be in like wise put in the same Records, for a perpetual Memory of the Truth: most humbly beseeching your Good Lordships, both to take order, that it may take effect; and also, that my former unadvised doings may be by your good Mediations paraoned of the King's Majesty.

Edmond London.

This humble carriage of the Bishop so wrought upon the King, and the Lords of the Council, that the edge of their displeasure was taken off; though, for a terrour unto others, and for the preservation of their own Authority, he

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was by them committed Prisoner to the *Fleet*. During the short time of whose Restraint, (that is to say, on the Eighteenth day of the same Moneth of September) the *Litany* was sung in the *English* Tongue, in Saint *Paul's* Church, between the Quire and the High Altar; the Singers kneeling, half on the one side, and half on the other. And the same day the *Epistle* and *Gospel* was also read at the High Mass in the *English* Tongue. And, about two Months after, (that is to say, on the seventeenth day of November, next following) Bishop *Bonner*, being then restored to his former Liberty, the Image of *Christ*, best known in those Times by the name of the *Rood*, together with the Images of *Mary*, and *John*, and all other Images in that Church, as also in all the other Churches of *London* were taken down; as was commanded by the said *Injunctions*. Concerning which we are to note, That, though the Parliament was then sitting, (whereof more anon) yet the *Commissioners* proceeded onely by the King's Authority, without relating any thing to that High Court in this weighty Business. And in the speeding of this Work, as Bishop *Bonner*, together with the Dean and Chapter, did perform their parts in the Cathedral of Saint *Paul*: so *Bellafere*, Arch-Deacon of *Colchester*, and Doctor *Gilbert Bourne*, (being at that time Arch-Deacon both of *London* and *Essex*; but afterwards preferred by Queen *Mary* to the Bishoprick of *Bath and Wells*) were not less Diligent and Officious in doing the like in all the Churches of their Respective Jurisdictions, according to the Charge imposed upon them by his Majestie's *Visitation*.

In the mean time, whilst matters were thus calmly Acted on the Stage of *England*; all things went no less fortunately forward with the Lord Protector in his War with *Scotland*: in which he carried himself with no less Courage; and Success, when it came to blows; then he had done with *Christian* Prudence, before he put himself on the Expedition. For, having taken Order for his Forces to be drawn together, he thought it most expedient to his Affairs, to gain the start in point of Reputation with his very Enemies, by not ingaging in a War, untill they had refused all Terms of Peace. And to this end a *Manifest* is dispatched unto them, declaring the *Motives*, which induced him to put this Kingdom into a posture of Arms. In which he remembered them of the *Promises, Seals, and Oaths*, which by publick Authority had passed for concluding this Marriage; That, These, being Religious Bonds betwixt God and their Souls, could not by any Politick Art of State be dissolved, untill their Queen should attain unto years of Dissent: Adding that, The Providence of God did therein manifestly declare it self, in that, the Male-Princes of *Scotland* failing, the Kingdom was left unto a Daughter; and in that King *Henry* left onely one Son to succeed; That, These two Princes were agreeable, both for Years, and Princely Qualities, to be joyned in Marriage, and thereby to knit both Realms into One; That, This Union, as it was like to be both easily done, and of firm continuance: so would it be both profitable, and Honourable to both the Realms; That, Both the Easiness and Firmness might be conjectured: for that both People are of the same Language, of like Habit and Fashion, of like Quality and Condition of Life, of one Climate; not onely annexed entirely together, but severed from all the World besides; That, as these are sure Arguments that both descended from one Original, so (by Reason, that Likeness is a great Cause of Liking and of Love) they would be most forcible Means, both to joyne and hold them in one Body again: That, Pretext would rise by extinguishing Wars between the two Nations: by Reason whereof, in former times, Victories abroad have been impeached, Invasions and Seditions occasioned, the Confines of both Realms lay'd waste, or else made a Nursery of Rapines, Robberies, and Murthers; the Inner Parts often deeply pierced, and made a wretched Spectacle to all Eyes of Humanity and Pity; That, The Honour of both Realms would increase: as well in regard of the Countreies, sufficient not onely to surmount the Necessities, but the moderate Pleasures of this Life; as also of the People, great in Multitude, in Body able, assured in Mind: not onely for the Safety,

Safety, but the Glory of the Common State: That, Hereby would follow Assurance of *An. 1547.*
 Defence, Strength to Enterprize, Ease in sustaining publick Burthens, and Charges; That, Herein the English desired no Pre-eminence, but offered Equality, both in Liberty and Privilege, and in capacity of Offices and Employments; and, to that end, the Name of Britain should be assumed, indifferent to both Nations: That, This would be the Complishment of their common Felicity; in case, (by their Evil, either Destiny, or Advice) they suffered not the Occasion to be left.

It was no hard matter to fore-see, that, either the Scots would return no Answer to this Declaration, or such an Answer at the best, as should signifie nothing. So that the War began to open, and some Hostilities to be exercised on either side; before the English Forces could be drawn together. For so it happened, that a small Ship of the Kings, called *The Penfe*, hovering at Sea, was assailed by *The Lyon*, a principal Ship of Scotland. The fight began a far off, and slow; but when they approached, it grew very furious: wherein the *Penfe* so applied her Shot, that therewith the *Lyon's Ore-Loope* was broken, her Sails, and Tacklings torn, and lastly she was boarded, and taken. But, as she was brought for England, she was cast away by Negligence, and Tempest, near *Harrowich Haven*, and most of her men perished with her. Which small Adventure (as Sir John Hayward well observes) seemed to Prognosticate the Success of the War: in which the English, with a small Army, gained a glorious Victory; but were deprived of the Fruit, and Benefits of it, by the Storms at home.

All thoughts of Peace being layd aside, the Army draws together at *New-Castle*, about the middle of August, consisting of twelve or thirteen thousand Foot, thirteen hundred Men at Arms, and two thousand Eight hundred light Horse: Both Men and Horse so well appointed; that a like Army never shewed it self, before that time, on the Borders of Scotland. Over which Army, so appointed, the Lord Protector held the Office of General; the Earl of Warwick that of Lieutenant General; the Lord Gray, General of the Horse, and Marshal also of the Field; Sir Ralph Vane, Liev. tenant of all the Men at Arms, and Demi-lances; and Sir Ralph Sadler, Treasurer General for the Wars: inferior Offices being distributed amongst other Gentlemen of Name and Quality, according to their well-deservings. At *New-Castle* they remained till the Fleet arrived, consisting of sixty five Bottoms: whereof one Gally and thirty four tall Ships were well-appointed for Fight; the Residue served for carriage of Munition, and Victuals. The Admiral of this Fleet being Edward Lord Clinton, created afterwards Earl of Lincoln, on the fourth of May 1572. in the fourteenth year of Queen Elizabeth. Making some little stay at *Berwick*, they entred not on *Scotish* Ground, till the third of September; keeping their March along the Shore within Sight of the Fleet, that they might be both Aided, and Relieved by it, as Occasion served: and making all along the Shore, they fell, at the end of two days, into a Valley called *The Penther*, containing six Miles in length, in breadth about four hundred Paces toward the Sea, and but one hundred toward the Land, where it was shut up by a River. The Issues out of it made into several paths, which the Scots had caused to be cut in divers places, with Traverse Trenches: and thereby so incumbered the Army in their marching forwards; (till the Pioneers had smoothed the way) that a small Power of the Enemy (if their Fortune had been answerable to the Opportunity) might have given a very good Account of them to the rest of their Nation. Which Difficulty being over-come, and a Passage thereby given them unto places of more Advantage, they made themselves Masters of three next Castles, for making good of their Retreat, if the worst should happen.

Upon the first News of these Approaches, enlarged (as the Custome is) by the Voice of Fame, the Earl of Arran, being then Lord Governour of Scotland, was not meanly startled; as being neither furnished with Foreign Aid, nor

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much relying on the Forces, which he had at Home. Yet refusing his accustomed Courage, and well-acquainted with both Fortunes, He sent his *Heralds* through all parts of the Realm, commanded the *Fire-Cross* (that is to say, two Fire-brands, set in fashion of a Cross, and pitched upon the point of a Spear) to be advanced in the Field, (according to the Ancient Custome of that Country in Important Cases) and therewithall caused *Proclamation* to be made, That *All Persons, from sixteen years of Age to sixty, should repair to Muske-borough, and bring their Ordinary Provision of Victuals with them.* Which *Proclamation* being made, and the Danger in which the Kingdom stood represented to them, the People flocked in such Multitudes to their *Rendez-vous*; that it was thought fit to make choice of such as were most serviceable, and dismiss the Rest. Out of which they compounded an Army (the Nobility, and Gentry, with their Followers being reckoned in) consisting of thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse: but poorly Armed, fittest to make Excursions, or to execute some sudden Inroad, then to entertain any strong Charge from so brave an Army.

The Armies drawing near together, the *General*, and the *Earl of Warwick*, rode towards the place, where the *Scottish Army* lay, to view the manner of their incamping. As they were returning, an *Herald*, and a *Trumpeter*, from the *Scots* overtook them; and, having obtained Audience, thus the *Herald* began; That, He was sent from the *Lord Governour of Scotland*, partly to enquire of *Prisoners*; but chiefly to make offer, that because he was desirous, not only to avoid profusion, but the least effusion of Christian blood; and for that the English had not done any unmanlike Outrage, or Spoyle, he was content they might return, and should have his *Safe-conduct* for their peaceable passage. Which said, the *Trumpeter* spake, as followeth; That, The *Lord Huntly, His Master*, sent Message by him; that, as well for brief Expedition, as to spare expence of Christian blood, He would fight upon the whole Quarrel, either with twenty against twenty, or with ten against ten; or, more particularly, by single Combat between the *Lord General* and himself. Which, in regard the *Scots* had advantage, both for Number, and Freshness of men; in regard also, that, for Supply, both for Provision, and Succours, they were at home, he esteemed an Honourable and charitable Offer.

To the *Herald* the *Lord General* returned this Answer; That, As his coming was not with purpose, or desire to endamage their Realm: as he was there, he would neither intreat, nor accept of him leave to depart; but would measure his Marches in Advancing or Retiring, as his own Judgment, guided by Advice of his Council, should deem expedient.

To the *Trumpeter* he returned this Answer; That, The *Lord Huntly, His Master*, was a young Gentleman, full of Free Courage but more desirous of Clory, than Judicious (as it seemed) how to win it; That, For number of Combatants, it was not in his power to conclude a bargain; but he was to employ all the Forces, put under his Charge, to the best advantage that he could; That, In case this were a particular Quarrel between the *Governour* and Him, he would not refuse a particular Combat; but, being a difference between the two Kingdoms, it was neither fit, nor in his Power, either to undertake the Adventure upon his own Fortune, or bearing a Publicke Charge, to hazard himself against a man of Private condition. Which said, and the *Earl of Warwick* offering to take upon himself the Answer to *Huntly's Challenge*: the *Lord Protectour* interposed, and turning again unto the *Herald*; *Herald* (saith he) tell the *Lord Governour*, and the *Lord Huntly*, that we have entred your Country with a sober Company: (which, in the Language of the *Scots*, is poor and mean) your Army is both Great and Fresh; but let them appear upon indifferent Ground, and assuredly they shall have fighting enough. And bring me word, that they will so do, and I will reward thee with a thousand Crowns.

These Braveries thus passed over on either side, the *Lord Protectour* wisely considering with himself the uncertain Issue of pitched Fields, and minding to preserve

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preserve his Army for some other purposes, thought fit to tempt the Scots, by another *Missive*, to yield unto his just Demands. In which, he wished them to consider; That, *This War was waged amongst Christians*: And that, *Our Ends were no other, then a just Peace, whereto the endeavours of all Good men should tend*; That, *An Occasion, not onely of a League, but of a perpetual Peace was now happily offered, if they would suffer the two differing, and Emulous Nations, by uniting the Head, to grow together*; That, *As this had formerly been sought by us, so had it been generally Assented to by the Estates of Scotland*; That, *Therefore he could not but wonder, why they should rather Treacherously recur to Arms (The events of War being usually, even to the Victour, sufficiently unfortunate) then to maintain, inviolate, their Troth plighted to the Good of both Nations*; That, *They could not in reason expect, that their Queen should perpetually live a Virgin-life*; That, *If she Married, where could she bestow her self better, then on a Puissant Monarch, inhabiting the same Island, and speaking the same Language*? That, *They could not choose, but see, what Inconveniences were the consequents of Foreign Matches. Wherof they should rather make Tryal by the Examples of Others, then at their Own Perill*. That, *Though he demanded nothing but Equity, yet he so far abhorred the Effusion of Christian blood, that, if he found the Scots not utterly averse from an accord, he would endeavour, that some of the Contentions should be remitted*; That, *He would also consent, that the Queen should abide, and be brought up amongst them, untill Her Age made Her Marriageable: at what time She should, by the Consent of the Estates, Her self make choice of an Husband*; That, *In the mean time, there should be a Cessation of Arms: neither should the Queen be transported out of Her Realm, nor entertain Treaty of Marriage with the French, or any other Foreigner*; That, *If this they would Faithfully Promise, he would forthwith peaceably depart out of Scotland*; And that, *Whatsoever Damages the Country had suffered by this Invasion, he would, according to the esteem of indifferent Arbitrators, make Ample Satisfaction*.

What Effect this Letter might have produced, if the Contents thereof had been communicated to the Generality of the *Scottish Army*, it is hard to say. Certain it is, that those, who had the Conduct of the *Scotts Affairs*, (as if they had been totally carried on to their own Destruction,) resolved not to put it to the venture: but, on the contrary, caused it to be noised abroad; That, *Nothing would content the English, but to have the young Queen at their disposal: and, under colour of a Marriage, to subdue the Kingdom; which was to be reduced for ever to the form of a Province*. This false Report did so exasperate all sorts of people; that they were instant for the Fight. Which was as cheerfully accepted by the Chief Commanders of the *English Army*; in regard of some Intelligence, which was brought unto them, that the *French* were coming with twelve Gallies, and fifty Ships, to fall upon them in the Rear. So as both Parties being resolved to try their Fortune, they ranged their Armies in this manner. The *English*, having gained an Hill, which was near their Shipping, disposed their Army in this Order. The *Avant-Guard*, consisting of between three and four thousand Foot, one hundred Men at Arms, and six hundred light Horse-men, was Conducted by the Earl of Warwick. After which followed the *Main-Battail*, consisting of about six thousand Foot, six hundred Men at Arms, and about one thousand light Horse-men; Commanded by the Lord *Princetown* himself. And, finally, the *Arrear*, consisting of between three and four thousand Foot, one hundred Men at Arms, and six hundred Light-Horse, was led by the Lord *Dacres*; an *Affive*, though an Aged Gentleman. The rest of the *Horses* was either cast into the *Wings*, or kept for a Reserve against all Events. And so the Battail being disposed, the Lord General, in few words, but with no small Gravity, (which to a Soldier serves in stead of Eloquence) puts them in mind of the Honour, which

An. 1547. *which their Ancestours had acquired in that Kingdom, of their own extream Disgrace, and Danger, if they sought not well: That, The Justness of their Quarrel should not so much encourage, as enrage them; being to revenge the Dishonour done to their King, and to chastise the deceitfull dealings of their Enemies: That, The multitude of their Enemies should nothing dismay them; because they, who come to maintain their own Breach of Faith, (besides that the Check of their Consciences much breaketh their spirit) have the Omnipotent Arm of God most furious against them.*

The Scots at the same time, having improvidently crossed the *Esk*, to find their Graves on this side of the water, disposed their Army in this manner. In the *Avant-guard* were placed about fifteen thousand, Commanded by the Earl of *Angus*; about ten thousand in the *Main-battail*, of whom the Lord *Governour* took the Conduct; and so many more in the *Arrear*, Led by the Valiant *Gordon*, Earl of *Huntly*. And being ready to fall on (on a false hope that the *English* were upon the flight) the Lord *Governour* put them in remembrance, how "They could never yet be brought under by the *English* but were always able, either to beat them back, or to weary them out; bidding them look upon themselves; and upon their enemies: themselves dreadful; their enemies gorged; and brave: on their side men, on the other spoyle, in case either through "slowness, or cowardise, they did not permit them to escape, who (so, now) "already had began their flight. And to say truth, the *English* having changed their Ground, to gain the Hill which lay near their Shipping and which also gave them the advantage both of Sun and Wind, wrought an opinion in the Scots; that they dislodged to no other end then to recover their Ships that they might save themselves, though they lost their Carriages. In confidence whereof, they quitted a place of great strength, where they were incamped, and from which the whole Army of *England* was not able to force them.

But the old *English* Proverb telleth us, that, *They that reckon without their Host, are to reckon twice*; and so it fared with this insatuated People. For on the tenth of *September*, the Battails being ready to joyn, a Peece of Ordnance, discharged from the Galley of *England*, took off five and twenty of their men; amongst whom the eldest Son of the Lord *Graham* was one. Whereupon four thousand Archers, terrified with so unexpected a slaughter, made a stand, and could never after be brought on: so, that they stood like men amazed; as neither having Hearts to Fight, nor Opportunity to Fly. Which consternation notwithstanding, the Lord *Gray*, being sent with a strong Party of Horse to give the Onset, found the *Main-Body* so well Embattailed, and such a Valiant Opposition made by a stand of *Pikes*; that they were almost as impenetrable as a Rock of Adamants: till being terrified by the *English* Ordnance, which came thundering on them from the top of the Hill, and galled by the Great-Shot from the Ships, they began to brangle. Which, being perceived by the *English*, they gave a loud Shout, crying; *They Fly, They Fly*: and thereby so astonished the affrighted Enemy; that they began to fly indeed, and presently throwing down their Arms, betook themselves unto their Heels. Many were slain upon the Place; more executed in the Chase, and not a few in the *Esk*; which so improvidently they had passed the day before: so, that the number of the slain was thought to have amounted to fourteen thousand. About fifteen hundred of both sorts were taken Prisoners, amongst which the daring Earl of *Huntly* was one of the Chief; who, being after asked, How he liked the Marriage, is said to have returned this Answer, That, *He could well enough brook the Wedding, but that he did not like that kind of Woing*. Amongst the number of the slain were found good store of *Monks* and *Friers*: some thousands of which had put themselves into the Army; which had been raised especially by their Power and Practices.

The Greatness of the Booty in Arms, and Baggage, was not the least cause; that the *English* reaped no better Fruit from so great a Victory, and did not prosecute

prosecute the War to an absolute Conquest. For, being intent in pillaging the dead, and gathering up the Spoils of the field, and solacing themselves in *Leith*, for five dayes together; they gave the *Scots* time to make Head again, to fortifie some Strong places on the other side of the *Fryth*, and to remove the Queen to *Dun-britton-Castle*: from whence they conveyed her into *France* in the year next following. And, though the loss, rather than neglect, of this opportunity is to be attributed in the first place to God's secret pleasure; who had reserved the Union of the Kingdoms till an happier time: yet were there many *Second Causes* and *subordinate Motives*, which might prevail upon the Lord *Protector* to return for *England*, without advancing any further. For either he might be taken off by the Earl of *Warwick*, who then began to cast an Envious eye on his Power and Greatness. Or, might be otherwise unwilling, of his own accord, to tempt his Fortune any further; by hazarding that Honour in a second Battail, which he had acquired in the first. Or, he might think it more conducing to his Affairs, to be present at the following *Parliament*; in which he had some work to do, which seemed more needfull to him, then the War with *Scotland*. The good Success whereof would be ascribed to his Officers and Commanders; but the Misfortunes wholly reckoned upon His account. Or finally, (which I rather think) he might conceive it necessary to preserve his Army, and Quarter it in the most convenient places near the *English Borders*: that it might be ready at Command upon all occasions; if his Designs should meet with any opposition, as before was said. And this may be believed the rather; because that, having fortified some Islands in the Mouth of the *Fryth*, he Garisoned the greatest part of his Army in *Roxborough*, *Haddington*, *Hume-Castle*, and other Peeces of importance; most of them lying near together, and the furthest not above a days March from *Berwick*.

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Now as concerning the Day, in which this Victory was obtained, I finde two notable Mistakes. The one committed by the Right Reverend Bishop *Godwin*: and the other by the no less Learned Sir *John Hayward*. By Bishop *Godwin* it is placed, exceeding rightly, on the tenth of *September*; but then he doth observe it, as a thing remarkable; That this memorable Victory was obtained on the very same day, in which the *Images*, which had been taken out of the several Churches, were burned in *London*. Whereas we are informed by *John Stow*, a diligent Observer of Days, and Times; That the *Images* in the Churches of *London* were not taken down before the seventeenth of *November*. And we are told by Sir *John Hayward*, that the day of this Fight was the tenth of *December*, which must be either a mistake of the Press, or a slip of the Pen; it being noted in the words next following, That on the same day, thirty four years afore; the *Scots* had been defeated by the *English* at *Flodden-field*. Which though it pointeth us back to the Moneth of *September*; yet the mistake remaineth as unto the Day: that Battail being fought, not on the tenth, but the ninth of *September*; as all our Writers do agree. But, leaving these Mistakes behind us, let us attend the Lord *Protector* to the Court of *England*. Towards which he hastened with such speed; that he layed but twenty five days upon *Scottish Ground* from his first Entrance to his Exit. And being come unto the Court, he was not onely welcomed by the King for so great a Service, with a Present of 500*l.* per An*n.* to him, and to his Heirs for ever; but highly Honoured by all sorts of people: the rather, in regard, that he had bought so great a Victory at so cheap a Rate; as the loss of sixty Horse onely, and but one of his Foot.

And now 'tis high time to attend the *Parliament*, which took beginning on the fourth of *November*; and was Prorogued on the twenty fourth of *December* following. In which the *Cards* were so well packed by Sir *Ralph Sadler*; that there was no need of any other shuffling till the end of the Game: this very *Parliament*, without any sensible alteration of the Members of it, being continued by Prorogation, from Session to Session; untill at last it ended by the Death of the King. For a Preparatory whereunto, *Richard Lord Rich* was made Lord

Chancellor

An. 1547. *Chancellor*, on the twenty fourth of October; and Sir John Baker, Chancellor of the Court of First-Fruits and Tenths, was nominated Speaker for the House of Commons. And, that all things might be carried with as little opposition and noise as might be, it was thought fit, that Bishop Gardiner should be kept in Prison, till the end of the Session: and that Bishop Tunstall of Durham (a man of a most even, and moderate Spirit) should be made less in Reputation, by being deprived of his Place at the Council-Table. And though the Parliament consisted of such Members, as disagreed amongst themselves, in respect of Religion: yet they agreed well enough together in one Common Principle; which was, to serve the present Time, and preserve themselves. For, though a great part of the Nobility, and not a few of the Chief Gentry in the House of Commons, were cordially affected to the Church of Rome: yet were they willing to give way to all such Acts and Statutes, as were made against it, out of a fear of losing such Church-Lands, as they were possessed of, if that Religion should prevail, and get up again. And for the rest, who either were to make, or improve their Fortunes; there is no question to be made, but that they came resolved to further such a Reformation, as should most visibly conduce to the Advancement of their several Ends. Which appears plainly by the strange mixture of the Acts and Results thereof: some tending simply to God's Glory, and the Good of the Church; some to the present Benefit, and enriching of particular Persons; and some again being devised of purpose to prepare a way for exposing the Revenues of the Church unto Spoil and Rapine. Not to say any thing of those Acts, which were merely Civil, and tended to the Profit and Emolument of the Common-Wealth.

Of the first Sort was The Act for repealing several Statutes concerning Treason. Under which head, besides those many bloody Laws, which concerned the Life of the Subject in Civil Matters, and had been made in the distracted Times, of the late King Henry, there was a Repeal also of all such Statutes, as seemed to touch the Subject in Life, or Liberty, for matter of Conscience: some whereof had been made, in the Times of King Richard the Second, and Henry the Fourth, against such, as dissenting in Opinion from the Church of Rome, were then called Lollards. Of which Sort also was another, made in the twenty fifth of the King Deceased, together with that terrible Statute of the Six Articles (commonly called The whip with six strings,) made in the thirty fifth year of the said King Henry. Others were of a milder Nature, (but such as were thought inconsistent with that Freedom of Conscience, which most men coveted to enjoy;) that is to say, The Act for Qualification of the said Six Articles; 35. H. 8. cap. 9. The Act inhibiting the Reading of the Old and New Testament in the English Tongue, and the Printing, Selling, Giving, or Delivering of any such other Books or Writings, as are there-in mentioned, and condemned; 34. H. 3. cap. 1. But these were also Abrogated as the others were, together with all, and every Act, or Acts of Parliament, concerning Doctrine and matters of Religion; and all, and every Article, Branch, Sentence, and Matter, Pains, and Forfeitures in the same contained. By which Repeal all men may seem to have been put into a Liberty of Reading Scripture, and being in a manner their own Expositours; of entertaining what Opinions in Religion best pleased their Fancies; and promulgating those Opinions, which they entertained. So that the English for a time enjoyed that Liberty, which the Romans are affirmed by Tacitus (*) to have enjoyed without compitrol in the Times of Nerva; that is to say, A Liberty of Opining whatsoever they pleased, and speaking freely their Opinions whatsoever they listed. Which whether it were such a great Felicity, as that Authour makes it, may be more then questioned.

Of this Sort also was the Act, entitled An Act against such, as speak against the Sacrament of the Altar; and for the receipt thereof in both kinds: cap. 1. In the first part whereof it is Provided with great Care and Piety; That, (*) Whatsoever person, or persons, from, and after the first day of May next coming, shall deprave, despise,

(*) ubi cōsentire que velis, et que velis liquiliceat. Tacit. Hist. lib. 1.

(*) 1. Edw. 6. cap. 1.

despise, or contemn the most Blessed Sacrament, by any contemptuous Words, or by any words of depraving, despising, or reviling, &c. that then he, or they, shall suffer Imprisonment, and make Fine and Ransome, at the King's pleasure. And, to say Truth, it was but time, that some provision should be made to suppress that Irreverence and Profaness, with which this Blessed Sacrament was at that time handled by too many of those, who seemed most ignorantly Zealous of a Reformation. For, whereas the Sacrament was in those Times delivered unto each Communicant in a small round Wafer, called commonly by the name of *Sacramentum Altaris*, or *The blessed Sacrament of the Altar*; and that such parts thereof, as were reserved from time to time, were hanged up over the Altar in a *Pix*, or *Box*: those Zealous ones, in hatred to the Church of Rome, reproached it by the odious Names of *Jack-in-a-box*, *Round-Red'n*, *Sacrament of the Halter*, and other Names, so unbecoming the Mouths of Christians; that they were never taken up by the *Turks*, and *Infidels*. And though Bishop Ridley, a right Learned, and Religious Prelate, frequently in his Sermons had rebuked the irreverent behaviour of such light and ill-disposed Persons; yet neither he, nor any other of the Bishops were able to Reform the Abuse: (the Quality, and Temper of the Times considered) which therefore was thought fit to be committed to the power of the Civil Magistrate; the Bishop being called in, to assist at the Sentence.

In the last branch of the *Act*, it is First declared, *According to the Truth of Scripture, and the Tenour of approved Antiquity*; That it is most agreeable both to the Institution of the said Sacrament and more conformable to the common Use, and Practice, both of the Apostles, and of the Primitive Church, by the space of five hundred years after Christ's Ascension; that the said Blessed Sacrament should rather be ministered unto all Christian people under both the Kinds of Bread and Wine; then under the form of Bread only. And thereupon it was Enacted, That, *The said most Blessed Sacrament should be hereafter commonly delivered, and ministered unto the People, within the Church of England, and Ireland, and other the King's Dominions, under both the Kinds; that is to say, of Bread and Wine.* With these Proviso's notwithstanding, *If necessity did not otherwise require: as in the Case of suddain Sicknes;* and other such like Extremities, in which it was not possible, that Wine could be provided for the Use of the Sacrament, nor the Sick-man depart this life in peace without it. And Secondly, That the permitting of this Liberty to the People of England, and the Dominions of the same, should not be construed to the condemning of any other Church, or Churches, or the Usages of them, in which the contrary was observed. So far the Parliament Enacted, in relation to the thing it self to the subject Matter; that the Communion should be delivered in both Kinds to all the good People of the Kingdoms. But for the Form, in which it was to be administered, that was left wholly to the King, and by the King committed to the Care of the Bishops: (of which more hereafter) the Parliament declaring onely, *That a Godly Exhortation should be made by the Ministers, therein expressing the great Benefit and Comfort promised to them, which worthily receive the same; and the great Danger threatened by God to all such persons, as should unworthily receive it.*

Now, That there is not any thing, either in the Declaration of this Parliament, or the Words by which it was Enacted, which doth not every way agree with Christ's Institution: appears most plainly by this Passage of Bishop Jewel, I would demand (saith he) of Master Harding, what things he would require to Christ's Institution, if words; Christ's Words be plain; If Example, Christ Himself Ministered in both Kinds; If Authority, Christ commanded His Disciples, and in them all other Ministers of His Church to do the like; If Certainty of His Meaning, the Apostles, endued with the Holy Ghost, so praised the same, and understood He meant so; If Continuance of Time, He had the same to be continued, till His Coming again. Jewel against Harding, Art. 2. Sect. 4. Which said, he thus proceedeth in the eight Sect, (that is to say) Some say, that the

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Priests

An. 1547. *Priests in Russia, for lack of Wine, used to Consecrate in Metheglin. Others, That Innocent the Eighth, for the like want, dispensed with the Priests of Norway, to Consecrate without Wine. It were no Reason to binde the Church to the Necessity, or Imbecillity of a few. For, otherwise the same want, and Imbecillity, which Master Harding hath here found for the one part of the Sacrament, may be found for the other. For Arrianus, De Rebus Indicis, and Strabo, in his Geography, have Written, That, There be whole Nations and Countries, that have no Bread. Therefore it should seem necessary by this Conclusion, that, in Consideration of them, the whole Church should abstain from the other Portion of the Sacrament also, and so have no Sacrament at all. But, because he may be suspected to be over-partial, in favour of the Church of England, let us see next what is confessed by Doctor Harding, the first who took up Arms against it in Queen Elizabeth's Time: who doth acknowledge in plain Terms; That, The Communion was delivered in both kinds at Corinth, as appeareth by Saint Paul; and in many other places also, as may most evidently be found in the Writings of many Antient Fathers: And finally, that it was so used for the space of six Hundred years, and after. Art. 2. Sect. 8, 28.*

But, because Harding leaves the point at 600, and after, I doubt not, but we may be able, on an exact search, to draw the Practice down to six hundred more, and possibly somewhat after also. For Haymo of Halberstadt, who flourished in the year 850, informs us, that, (*) The Cup is called the Cup of the Communion of the Blood of Christ, because all Communicate thereof. And we are certified in the History of Antoninus, Arch-Bishop of Florence; that William Duke of Normandy, immediately before the Battail near Hastings, Anno 966; caused His whole Army to communicate in both Kinds; as the use then was. And finally, It is observed by Thomas Aquinas, who lived in, and after the year 1260. That, In some Churches of his Time the Cup was not given unto the People. Which though he reckoneth for a (*) Provident and Prudent Usage: yet, by restraining it only to some few Churches, he shews the General Usage of the Church to have been otherwise at that time, as indeed it was. So that the Parliament in this Case appointed nothing, but what was consonant to the Institution of our Lord and Saviour, and to the Practice of the Church for 1260 years, and upwards: which is sufficient to discharge it from the Scandal of an Innovation. Nor probably had the Parliament appointed this, but that it was advised by such Godly Bishops, as were desirous to Reduce the Ministration of that most Blessed Sacrament to the first Institution of it, and the Primitive Practice: the Convocation of that year not being empowered to act in any Publick business; for ought appearing on Record.

The next great Business was the Retriving of a Statute made in the 27th. year of King Henry the Eighth: by which all Chantries, Colleges, Free-Chapels, and Hospitals, were permitted to the Disposing of the King for Term of His Life. But the King dying, before He had taken many of the said Colleges, Hospitals, Chantries, and Free-Chapels, into His Possession, and the Great Ones of the Court not being willing to lose so Rich a Booty; it was set on Foot again, and carried in this present Parliament. In, and by, which it was Enacted, That, All such Colleges, Free-Chapels, and Chantries, as were in Being within five years of the present Session, which were not in the Actual Possession of the said late King, &c. other then such, as by the King's Commissions should be altered, transported, and changed; together, with all Ancients, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Tithes, Pensions, Portions, and other Hereditaments, to the same belonging: after the Feast of Easter then next coming, should be adjudged, and deemed, and also be, in the Actual and Real Possession, and Seisin of the King, His Heirs, and Successors for ever. And though the Hospitals, being at that time an hundred and ten, were not included in this Grant, as they had been in that to the King deceased: yet the Revenue, which by this Act was designed to the King, His Heirs, and Successors, must needs have been a great Improvement to the Crown;

(*) Appellatur Calix communionum: quia omnes communicant ex illo Haymo in 1. ad Cor. cap. 11.

(*) In quibusdam Ecclesiis provide observatur; ut populo Sanguis non detur Sect. 3. qu. 80. Art. 11.

Crown; if it had been carefully kept together, as it was first pretended: there being accounted 90. Colleges within the Compass of that Grant, (those in the Universities not being reckoned in that Number) and no fewer then 2374. Free-Chapels and Chanteries: the Lands whereof were thus conferred upon the King by Name, but not intended to be kept together for His Benefit onely. In which Respect it was very stoutly insisted on by Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, that the dissolving of these Colleges, Free-Chapels, and Chanteries, shou'd be deferred untill the King should be of Age; to the intent that they might serve the better to furnish and maintain His Royal Estate, then that so great a Treasure should be consumed in His Nonage, as it after was. Of this we shall speak more in the following year, when the Grant of the said Chanteries, Free-Chapels, &c. came to take Effect.

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In the mean time, It will not be amiss to shew, that these Chanteries consisted of Salaries, allowed to one or more Priests to say daily Mass, for the Souls of their deceased Founders, and their Friends. Which, not subsisting on themselves, were generally Incorporated, and United to some Parochial, Collegiate, or Cathedral Church. No fewer then 47. in Number, being found, and Founded, in Saint Paul's. Free-Chapels, though Ordained for the same Intent, were Independent of themselves, of stronger Constitution, and Richer Endowment, then the Chanteries severally were; though therein they fell also short of the Colleges, which far exceeded them, both in the Beauty of their Building, the number of Priests, maintained in them and the Proportion of Revenue allotted to them. All which Foundations, having in them an Admixture of Superstition, (as Pre-supposing Purgatory, and Prayers to be made for Deliverance of the Soul from thence) were therefore now suppressed upon that Account, and had been granted to the late King upon other Pretences. At what time it was Preached at *Mercers-Chapel*, in London, by one Doctor *Cromer*, (a Man that wished exceeding well to the Reformation) That, if Trentals, and Chantry-Masses, could avail the Souls in Purgatory, then did the Parliament not well, in giving away Colleges, and Chanteries; which served principally for that purpose. But if the Parliament did well in dissolving and bestowing them upon the King: (which he thought that no man could deny) then was it a plain Case, that such Chanteries, and private Masses did confer no Relief on the Souls in Purgatory. Which Dilemma, though it were unanswerable: yet was the matter so handled by the Bishops, seeing how much the Doctrine of the Church was concerned therein, that they brought him to a Recantation at Saint Paul's Cross, in the June next following: (this Sermon being Preached in *Lens*) where he confessed himself to have been seduced by naughty books, contrary to the Doctrine then received in the Church. But the Current of these Times went the other way, and *Cromer* might now have Preached that safely, for which before he had been brought into so much trouble.

But that, which made the greatest Alteration, and threatened most danger to the State Ecclesiastical, was the *Act*, entituled *An Act for Election of Bishops, and what Seals, and Styles, shall be used by Spiritual Persons, &c.* In which it was Ordained, (for) I shall onely repeat the Sum thereof) That, Bishops should be made by the King's Letters Patents, and not by the Election of the Deans and Chapters: That all their Processess, and Writings, should be made in the King's Name onely, with the Bishop's Teste added to it: and sealed with no other Seal, but the King's, or such, as should be Authorized and Appointed by Him. In the Compounding of which Act there was more Danger couched, then at first appeared. By the last Branch thereof it was plain and evident, that the Intent of the Contrivers was, by degrees to weaken the Authority of the Episcopal Order, by forcing them from their Strong-hold of Divine Institution, and making them no other, then the King's Ministers onely, His Ecclesiastical Sheriffs (as a man might say) to execute His Will, and disperse His Mandates. And of this Act such use was made, (though possibly beyond the true intention of it) that the Bishops of those Times were not in a Capacity of conferring Orders

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ders: but as they were thereunto empowered by especial Licence. The Tenour whereof (if *Sanders* be to be believed) was in these words following: viz. *The King to such a Bishop Greeting. Whereas all, and all manner of Jurisdiction, as well Ecclesiastical, as Civil, flows from the King, as from the Supreme Head of all the Body, &c. We therefore give, and grant to thee full Power, and Licence, to continue during Our Good Pleasure, for holding Ordination within thy Diocess of N. and for promoting fit Persons unto Holy Orders, even to that of the Priest-hood. Which being looked on by Queen Mary, not onely as a dangerous Diminution of the Episcopal Power; but as an Odious Innovation in the Church of Christ: She caused this Act to be repealed in the first Year of Her Reign; leaving the Bishops to depend on their former claim, and to act all things, which belonged to their Jurisdiction, in their own Names, and under their own Seals, as in former Times. In which Estate they have continued, without any Legal Interruption, from that time to this.*

But in the first Branch there was somewhat more, then what appeared at the first sight. For, though it seemed to aim at nothing; but that the Bishops should depend wholly on the King, for their preferment to those great and eminent Places: yet the true Drift of the Design was to make Deans and Chapters useles, for the time to come, and thereby to prepare them for a Dissolution. For, had nothing else been intended in it, but that the King should have the sole Nomination of all the Bishops in His Kingdoms, it had been onely a Reviver of an Antient Power: which had been formerly Invelled in His Predecessours, and in all other *Christian* Princes. Consult the Stories, and Records, of the Elder Times; and it will readily appear, not onely that the *Romane* Emperours of the House of *France*, did nominate the *Popes* themselves: but that, after they had lost that Power, they retained the Nomination of the Bishops in their own Dominions. The like done also by the *German* Emperours, by the Kings of *England*, and by the Antient Kings of *Spain*: the Investiture being then performed *Per Anulum & Baculum*, as they used to Phrase it; that is to say, by delivering of a Ring, together with a *Crozier*, or *Pastoral Staff*, to the Party nominated. Examples of which Practice are exceeding obvious in all the Stories of those Times. But the *Popes*, finding at the last, how necessary it was in order to that absolute Power, which they ambitiously affected over all *Christian* Kings, and Princes, that the Bishops should depend on none but them, challenged this power unto themselves: declaring it in several Petit Councils for no less then *Simony*, if any man should receive a Bishoprick from the Hands of his own Natural Prince. From hence those long and deadly Quarrels begun between Pope *Hildebrand* and the Emperour *Henry the Fourth*, and continued by their Successours for many years after. From hence the like Disputes in *England*, between Pope *Urban the Second* and King *William Rufus*; between Pope *Innocent* and King *John*: till in the end the *Popes* prevailed both here and elsewhere, and gained the point unto themselves. But so: that, to disguise the matter, the Election of the future Bishop was committed to the Prior and Convent, or to the Dean and Chapter of that Cathedral, wherein he was to be Installed. Which passing by the Name of Free Elections, were wholly, in a manner, at the *Pope's* Disposing.

The Point thus gained, it had been little to their Profit, if they had not put the same in Execution. Which being done by Pope *Innocent the Fourth*, in Consecrating certain *Englisch* Bishops at *Lyons* in *France*, without the King's Knowledge & Consent: it was observed by *Matthew Paris* (*) to be dishonourable to the King, and of great Dammage to the Kingdom. So much the more, by how much the Mischief grew more common, and the Design, concealed under that Disguise, became more apparent: which plainly was, (*) that being bound unto the *Pope* in the stricter Bonds, and growing into a Contempt of their Natural King, they might the more readily be inclined to worke any Mischief in the Kingdom. The Danger whereof being considered by King *Edward the First*, He came at last to this

(*) *Matt. Paris. in Hen. 3. An. 1245.*

(*) *Ubi magis ei sententiar obligati, & contempto Rege, fierent in damnium Regni promptiores.* pag. 192.

this Conclusion with the Popes then being; That is to say, that the said Priors and Convents, or the said *Deans* and *Chapters*, as the Case might vary, before they proceeded to any Election, should demand the King's Writ of *Congregatio*: and, after the Election made, to crave his Royal Assent unto it, for Confirmation of the same. And so much was avowed by the Letters of King Edward the Third to Pope Clement the Fifth. In which it was declared; That all the Cathedral Churches in England were Founded, and Endowed by His Progenitours; (*) and that therefore, as often as those Churches became void of a Bishop, they were filled again with fit Persons by His said Progenitours, as in their own Natural and proper Right. The like done by the French Kings to this very day, partly by virtue of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, established at the Council of *Basil*, and partly by the *Concordate* between King Francis the First, and Pope Leo the Tenth. And the like also challenged by the State of *Venice*, within the Verge, and Territories of that Republick. For which consult the English History of that State, *Decad. 5. lib. 9. fol. 229.* So that, upon the whole matter, there was no Innovation made, as to this particular: but a Restoring to the Crown an antient Power, which had been Naturally and Originally in the Crown before. But howsoever, having the appearance of an Alteration from the received manner of Elections in the Church of *Rome*; and that, which was Established by the late King for the Realm of *England*: it was repealed by Queen *Mary*, and put into the former Chancel by Queen *Elizabeth*.

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(*) Quas Ecclesias dicti Progenitores nostri dudum, singulis vacationibus earundem personis idoneis, jure suo Regibus libere conferebant. Apud Masou. De Mist. Anglic. lib. 4. cap. 13. pag. 497.

But from this Alteration, which was made in Parliament, in reference to the manner of Making Bishops, and the way of Exercising their Authority, when they were so made, let us proceed unto such Changes, as we finde made amongst the Bishops themselves. The first whereof was the Election of Doctor *Nicholas Ridley* to the See of *Rocheſter*: to which he had been nominated by King *Henry the Eighth*, when *Holbeck*, who preceded him, was designed for *Lincoln*. But, the King dying shortly after, the Translation of *Holbeck* was deferred till the Time of King *Edward*: which was no sooner done, but *Ridley* was chosen to succeed him; although not actually Consecrated till the fifth of *September*. A man of great Learning, as the Times then were, and for his excellent way of Preaching highly esteemed by the late King; whose Chaplain he had been for many years before His death: and upon that onely designed to this Preferment, as the reward of his Service. Being well studied in the Fathers, it was no hard matter for him to observe; That, as the Church of *Rome* had erred in the Point of the Sacrament: so, as well the *Lutheran*, as the *Zuinglian* Churches, had run themselves into some error, by opposing the *Papists*: the one being forced upon the Fignment of *Consubstantiation*; the other to fly to Signs and Figures, as if there had been nothing else in the blessed *Eucharist*. Which being observed, he thought it most agreeable to the Rules of Piety, to frame his Judgement to the Dictates of the Antient Fathers: and so to hold a *Real Presence* of *Christ's* Body and Blood in the Holy Sacrament, as to exclude that Corporal Eating of the same, which made the *Christian Faith* a scorn both to the *Turks* and *Moor*s. Which Doctrine as he stoutly stood to in all his Examinations at *Oxford*, when he was preparing for the Stake, so he maintained it constantly in his Sermons also: in which it was affirmed; That, *In the Sacrament were truly and verily the Body and Blood of Christ, made so, &c. &c. by Grace, and Spirit.* And, being so perswaded in his own Opinion he so prevailed by Discourse and Argument with Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, as to bring him also to the same; (for which consult the *Acts and Mon.* fol.) a man of a most even and constant spirit, as he declared in all his Actions: but in none more, then in the opposition, which he made against Bishop *Hooper* in Maintinaince of the Rites, and Ceremonies, then by Law Established: of which we shall have opportunity to speak more hereafter.

In the next place, we are to look upon the Preferment of Doctor *Barlow*, to the Bishoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*; succeeding in the place of *Knight*;

An. 1548⁵⁷ Knight, who dyed on the twenty ninth of the same September. He had been once Prior of the Monastery of *Bisbam*, in the County of *Berks*: from whence preferred to the See of *Asaph*, in the end of February, An. 1535. And, in the April following, Translated to the Church of *St. David's*. During his sitting in which See, he fell upon an honest and convenient Project, for removing the Episcopal See from the decayed City of *St. David's*, most incommodiouly Situate in the remotest Angle of all the Diocess, to the rich Borough of *Caer-marthen*, in the midst thereof; in the Chief Church whereof, being a Monastery of *Grey-Friars*, the body of *Edmond* Earl of *Richmond*, the Father of *K. Henry the Seventh* received Interment. Which Project he presented to *Cromwel*, being then Vicar General, endearing it by these Motives and Propositions; that is to say, That, being situate in the midst of the Diocess, it was very opportune for the profiting of the King's Subjects, for the Preferment of God's Word, for abolishing all *Antichristian* Superstition, and settling in the Diocess the King's Supremacy; That it was furnished with all things necessary for the conveniency of the Canons, and might be done without any prejudice to the *Friars*: for every one of which he offered to provide a sufficient Maintenance. And, to advance the work the more, he offered to remove his Consistory thither, to found therein a *Grammar-Schole*, and settle a daily Lecture in Divinity there, for the reducing of the *Welsh* from their ancient Rudeness to the Civility of the Time. All which I finde in the Memorials of *Sir Robert Cotton*. And unto these he might have added, That he had a fair Episcopal House at *Abberguilly*, very near that Town: in which the Bishops of that Diocess have for the most part made their Dwelling. So that all Parties seemed to have been provided for in the Proposition: and therefore the more to be admired; That, in a Time so much addicted unto Alterations, it should speed no better. For, notwithstanding all these Motives, the See remained where it was, and the Bishop continued in that See till this present year; in which he was made use of, amongst many others, by the Lord Protector, for Preaching up the War against *Scotland*. For which and many other good Services already passed, but more to be performed hereafter, he was Translated to this See on the death of *Knight*: but the precise Day, and Time thereof, I have no where found. But I have found, that, being Translated to this See, he gratified the Lord Protector with a Present of eighteen or nineteen Manours, which antiently belonged unto it; and lying, all, or most part of them, in the County of *Sommerfet*, seemed very conveniently disposed of, for the better Maintenance of the Dukedom, or rather of the Title of the Duke of *Sommerfet*; which he had took unto himself. More of which strange Donations we shall finde in others: the more to be excused, because there was no other means (as the Times then were) to preserve the whole; but by ~~some~~ some part thereof to the Spoil of others.

Anno Regni Edw. Sexti 2^o. An. Dom. 1547, 1548.

THE Parliament ending on the twenty fourth day of December (as before was said,) seems to have put a stop to all Publique Business; as if it had been done of purpose to give the great Ministers of State a time of breathing. But no sooner was the year begun, (I mean the second year of the King) but that a Letter is sent from the Arch-Bishop to Doctor *Bonner*, Bishop of *London*; requiring him in the name of his Majesty, and the Lords of his Council, to proceed unto the Reformation of such Abuses, as were therein mentioned, and to give Order for the like to the rest of the Suffragans. By antient Right, the Bishops of *London* are accounted *Deans* of the Episcopal College; and, being such, were by their place to signifie the pleasure of their Metropolitan to all the Bishops

Bishops of the Province, to execute his Mandates, and disperse his Missives, on all Emergency of Affairs: as also to preside in Convocations, or Provincial Synods; during the vacancy of the See, or in the necessary absence of the Metropolitan. In which Capacity, and not out of any Zeal he had to the Reformation, Bishop *Bonner*, having received the Arch-Bishop's Letters, communicateth the Contents thereof to the rest of the Suffragan-Bishops, and amongst others to Doctor *Thomas Thirlby*, then Bishop of *Westminster*, in these following words.

An. 1548

My very Good Lord,

After my most hearty Commendations, These are to Advertise your Good Lordship, that my Lord of Canterbury's Grace, this present 28th. of January, sent unto me his Letters Missive, containing this in Effect; That my Lord Protector's Grace, with advice of other the King's Majestie's Honourable Privy Council (for certain Considerations them moving) have fully resolved, that no Candles shall be borne upon Candlemas-day; nor also, from henceforth, Ashes, or Palms, used any longer; requiring Ade thereupon by his said Letters, to cause Admonition, and Knowledge thereof, to be given unto your Lordship, and other Bishops, with celerity accordingly. In consideration whereof, I do send at this present these said Letters to your Good Lordship, that you thereupon may give Knowledge, and Advertisement thereof, within your Diocese, as appertaineth. Thus committing your Good Lordship to Almighty God, as well to fare, as your Good heart can best desire.

Written in haste at my House in London, the

said 28th. of January, 1548.

Such was the Tenour of this Letter: the Date whereof doth very visibly declare; that the Counsel was as suddain, as the Warning short. For, being Dated on the 28th. of January, it was not possible, that any Reformation should be made in the first particular; but onely in the Cities of London, and Westminster, and the parts adjoining: the Feast of Purification following within five days after. But yet the Lords drove on so fast; that, before this Order could be published, in the remote parts of the Kingdom, they followed it with another, (as little pleasing to the main body of the People) concerning Images; which in some places of the Realm were either not taken down at all, as was required the year before by the King's Injunctions, or had been re-advanced again as soon as the first Heats of the Visitation had began to cool. Which, because it cannot be expressed more cleatly, then in the Letters of the Council to the Lord Arch-Bishop, and that the Reader be not troubled with any Repetitions; I shall commit the Narrative thereof to the Letters themselves: which are these that follow.

After Our Right Hearty Commendations to Your Good Lordship, Where now of late, in the King's Majestie's Visitations, amongst other Godly Injunctions, Commanded generally to be observed through all parts of this His Highness's Realm, One was set forth for the taking down of such Images, as had at any time been abused with Pilgrimages, Offerings, or Censures; albeit that this said Injunction hath in many parts of the Realm been quietly obeyed, and executed; yet, in many other places, much strife and contention hath risen, and daily riseth, and more and more increaseth, about the execution of the same. Some men being so Superstitious, or rather Willfull; as they would, by their good Wills, retain all such Images still, though they have been

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been most manifestly abused. And almost in every place is Contention for Images, whether they have been abused, or not. And whilst these men go on both sides contentiously to obtain their minds, contending whether this Image, or that Image hath been Offered unto, Kissed, Censured, and otherwise abused; Parts have in some places been taken in such sort, as further Inconveniences be like to ensue, if remedy be not found in time. Considering therefore, that almost in no place of this Realm is any sure quietness; but where all Images be clean taken away, and pulled down already: to the intent, that all Contention, in every part of this Realm, for this matter, may be clearly taken away; and the lively Image of Christ should not contend for the dead Images, which be things not necessary; and without the which the Churches of Christ continued most Godly many years: We have thought good to signify unto you, that his Highness Pleasure, with the Advice, and Consent of Us, the Lord Protector, and the rest of the Council, is, That immediately, upon sight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you shall not onely give Order, that all the Images, remaining in any Church, or Chapel, within your Diocess, be removed, and taken away; but also, by your Letters, signify unto the rest of the Bishops, within your Province, this his Highness pleasure, for the like Order to be given by them, and every of them, within their several Diocesses. And in the Execution hereof We require both you, and the rest of the said Bishops, to use such fore-sight, as the same may be quietly done, with as Good satisfaction of the People, as may be.

Your Lordship's assured Loving Friends,

From Sommer-set-
Place, the 11th.
of Febr. 1547.

Edw. Sommer-set, } Anth. Wingfield, } Thomas Seimour,
Hen. Arundel, } John Russell, } William Paget.

These quick Proceedings could not but startle those of the *Romish* Party; though none so much, as Bishop Bonner; who, by his place, was to disperse those unwelcome Mandates in the Province of *Canterbury*. And though he did perform the service with no small Reluctancy, yet he performed it at the last; his Letter to the Bishop of *Westminster* (his next neighbouring Bishop) not bearing Date untill the twentieth of that Moneth. Nor was Bishop *Gardiner* better pleased, when he heard the News; who thereupon signified, in his Letter to one Mr. *Vaughan*, his great dislike of some Proceedings had at *Portsmouth*, in taking down the Images of Christ, and his Saints; certifying him withall, not onely, that with his own eyes he had seen the Images standing in all Churches, where Luther was had in Estimation; but that Luther himself had purposely written a Book against some men, which had defaced them. And therefore it may well be thought, that Covetousness spurred on this busines, more then Zeal; there being none of the Images so poor and mean, the Spoyle whereof would not afford some Gold and Silver, (if not Jewels also) besides Censers, Candlesticks, and many other rich Utensils appertaining to them. In which Respect, the Commissioners hereto Authorised were entertained in many places with scorn, and railing; and the further they went from *London*, the worse they were handled. Inasmuch, that one of them, called *Bodly*, as he was pulling down Images in *Cornwall*, was stabbed into the body by a Priest. And though the Principal Offender was hanged in *Smithfield*, and many of his Chief Accomplices in other Parts of the Realm, which quieted all Matters for a time; yet, the next year the storm broke out more

more violently then before it did : not onely to the endangering of the Peace of those *Western Counties*, but in a manner of all the Kingdom. An. Reg. 20.
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Which great Commotions the Council could not but fore-see, as the most probable Consequents of such Alterations : especially when they are suddain, and pressed too fast. There being nothing, of which People commonly are so tender, as they are of Religion : on which their Happiness dependeth, not onely for this World, but the World to come. And therefore it concerned them, in point of Prudence, to let the People see, that there was no intention to abolish all their antient Ceremonies ; which either might consist with Piety, or the Profit of the Common-Wealth. And, in particular, it was held expedient to give the generality of the Subject some contentment, in a Proclamation for the strict keeping of *Lent*, and the Example of the Court in pursuance of it. For Doctor *Glasier* having broke the Ice, (as before was said) there was no scarcity of those, that cryed down all the Observations of Days, and Times ; even to the Libelling against that antient and Religious Fast, in most scandalous Rhythms. Complaint whereof being made by Bishop *Gardiner*, in a Letter to the Lord Protector ; a Proclamation was set out, bearing Date in January, by which all People were Commanded to abstain from Flesh in the time of *Lent* ; and the King's *Lenten-Dyets* was set out, and served, as in former Times.

And now comes Bishop *Latimer* on the Stage again : being a man of Parts and Learning, and one that seemed inclinable enough to a Reformation. He grew into esteem with *Cromwel* : by whose Power and Favour with the King, he was made Bishop of *Worcester*, An. 1535. continuing in that See, till on the first of July, 1539. he chose rather willingly to Resign the same, then to have any hand in Passing the *Six Articles*, then Agitated in the Convocation, and Confirmed by Parliament. After which time, either upon Command, or of his own accord, he forbore the Pulpit for the space of eight whole years, and upwards ; betaking himself to the retiredness of a private life : but welcome at all times to Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* ; to whom the Piety, and Plainness of the Man was exceeding acceptable. And possible enough it is, that being Sequestred from Preaching, and all other Publick Acts of the Administration, he might be usefull to him, in Composing the *Homilies* ; having much in them of that plain and familiar Style, which doth so visibly shew it self in all his Writings. On New-Years-Day last past, being Sunday, he Preached his first Sermon at St. Paul's-Cross : (the first, I mean, after his re-Admission to his former Ministry) and, at the same place again, on that Day seven-night, and on the Sunday after also ; and, finally, on the day of St. Paul's Conversion, the twenty fifth of that Month. By means whereof he became so Famous, and drew such multitudes of People after him to hear his Sermons ; that, being to Preach before the King on the first Friday in Lent, it was thought necessary, that the Pulpit should be placed in the King's Privy-Garden ; where he might be heard of more, then four times as many Auditours, as could have thronged into the Chapel. Which, as it was the first Sermon, which was Preached in that place ; so, afterward, a fixed, and standing Pulpit was erected for the like Occasions : especially for Lent-Sermons on Sundays in the after-noon, and hath so continued ever since, till these later Times.

Now, whilst Affairs proceeded thus in the Court and City, some Gouly Bishops, and other Learned and Religious Men, were no less busily employed in the Castle of Windor ; appointed by the King's Command to Consult together about one Uniform Order for Administring the Holy Communion in the English Tongue, under both Kinds of Bread and Wine, according to the Act of Parliament made in that behalf. Which Persons so convened together (if at the least they were the same, which made the first Liturgie of this King's time, as I think they were) were these, who follow : that is to say, Thomas Cranmer, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury ; Thomas Goodrick, Bishop

An. Reg. 2^o Bishop of Ely, and afterwards Lord Chancellour; Henry Holbeck, Bishop of
 57. Lincoln; George Day, Bishop of Chichester; John Skip, Bishop of Hereford;
 154 { 58. Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster; Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of Ro-
 chester; Richard Cox, Almoner to the King, and Dean of Christ-Church;
 Doctour May, Dean of St. Paul's; Doctour Taylor, then Dean (after
 Bishop) of Lincoln; Doctour Heyns, Dean of Exeter; Doctour Robertson,
 afterwards Dean of Durham; Doctour Ridley, Master of Trinity-College
 in Cambridge. Who, being thus Convened together, and taking into Con-
 sideration as well the right Rule of the Scripture, as the Usage of the
 Primitive Church, agreed on such a Form, and Order, as might comply
 with the Intention of the King, and the Act of Parliament, without gi-
 ving any just Offence to the Romish Party. For they so Ordered it; that the
 whole Office of the Mass should proceed, as formerly, in the Latine Tongue;
 even to the very end of the Canon, and the receiving of the Sacrament by the
 Priest himself. Which being passed over, they began with an Exhortation in
 the English Tongue, directed to all thole, which did intend to be partakers
 of the Holy Communion. Which Exhortation, beginning with these Words,
Dearly-beloved in the Lord, ye coming to this Holy Communion, &c. is in ef-
 fect the last of thole, which afterwards remained in the Publick Liturgie.
 Then followed the Invitation thus, *Tou, that do truly, and earnestly repent
 you of your sins, &c.* proceeding to the General Confession, the Absolu-
 tion, the Comfortable Sentences out of Holy Scripture; and so unto the Prayer
 of Humble Address; *We do not presume to come to this Table, &c.* the Dis-
 tribution of the Sacrament to the People present, continuing still upon their
 knees, and finally dismissing them, *In the Peace of God.* Which Godly Form,
 being presented to the King, and the Lords of the Council, and by them
 exceeding well approved; was Published on the eighth of March, together
 with his Majestie's Proclamation, Authorising the same, and Commanding all
 His Loving Subjects to conform unto it, in this Manner following.

By the King.

EDWARD, by the Grace of God, King of England, France, and
 Ireland, Defender of the Faith; and of the Church of England, and
 Ireland, in Earth the Supreme Head: To All, and Singular, Our Lo-
 ving Subjects, Greeting. For so much, as in Our High Court of Parliament,
 lately holden at Westminster, it was by Us, with the consent of the Lords
 Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons there Assembled, most Godly, and a-
 greeable to Christ's Holy Institution, Enacted; That the most Blessed Sacra-
 ment of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ should from hence-
 forth be commonly Delivered, and Ministred unto all Persons, within
 Our Realm of England, and Ireland, and other Our Dominions, un-
 der both Kinds, that is to say, of Bread and Wine; (except necessity other-
 wise require) lest every man fantasizing and devising a sundry way by himself
 in the Use of this most Blessed Sacrament of Unity, there might thereby arise
 any unseemly, or ungodly Diversity: Our pleasure is, by the Advice of Our
 most Dear Uncle the Duke of Sommerlet, Governour of Our Person, and Pro-
 tectour of Our Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, and other Our Privy
 Council; that the said Blessed Sacrament be Ministred unto Our People,
 only after such Form, and Manner, as hereafter by Our Authority, with

with the Advice before-mentioned, is set out, or declared; Willing every man with due Reverence, and Christian Behaviour, to come to this Holy Sacrament, and most Blessed Communion; lest that, by the unworthy receiving of such high Mysteries, they become guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord, and so eat and drink their own Damnation: but rather diligently trying themselves, that they so come to this Holy Table of Christ, and so be partakers of this Holy Communion; that they may dwell in Christ, and have Christ dwelling in them: And also with such Obedience and Conformity, to receive this Our Ordinance, and most Godly Direction; that we may be encouraged from Time to Time farther to travail for the Reformation, and setting forth of such Godly Orders, as may be most to God's Glory, the Edifying of Our Subjects, and for the Advancement of true Religion; which is the thing We (by the help of God) most earnestly endeavoured to bring to effect: Willing all Our Loving Subjects in the mean time to stay, and quiet themselves, with this Our Direction; as men content to follow Authority (according to the bounden Duty of Subjects) and not enterprising to run before: and so by their Rashness become the greatest Hinderers of such things, as they, more arrogantly than Godly, would seem (by their own private Authority) most hotly to set forward. We would not have Our Subjects so much to mistake Our Judgment, so much to mistrust Our Zeal; as though we either would not discern what were to be done, or would not do all things in due time: God be praised; We know both what by his Word is meet to be redressed, and have an earnest mind by the Advice of Our most Dear Uncle, and other of Our Privy Council, with all diligence and convenient speed, so to set forth the same, as it may most stand with God's Glory, and edifying and quietness of Our People: Which We doubt not, but all Our Obedient and Loving Subjects will quietly and reverently tarry for.

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The next Care was, to see the said Order put in execution: of which the Lords of the Council discharged the King, and took the whole Bu then on themselves. For, causing a sufficient Number of the Printed Copies to be sent to each Bishop in the Realm, they there withall directed Letters to them; Requiring, and in His Majesty's Name Commanding them, and every of them, to have an earnest Diligence, and careful Respect, both in their own Persons, and all their Officers, and Ministers, for causing the said Books to be so delivered to every Parson, Vicar, and Curate in their several Diocesses; that they may have sufficient time well to instruct and advise themselves for the Distribution of the most Holy Communion, according to the Order of the said Book, before Easter following: and that by the good Means of them, (the said Bishops) they may be well directed to use such Good, Gentle, and Charitable Instructions, to their simple and unlearned Parishioners; as may be to their good Satisfaction: Letting them further know, that, as the said Order was set forth, to the intent there should be in all parts of this Realm, and among all men, one Uniform manner quietly used; so that the Execution thereof did very much stand in the Diligence of them, and others of their Vocation, who therefore were again required to have a diligent respect unto it: as they tender the King's pleasure, and would answer the contrary. Which Letter, bearing Date on the thirteenth of March, was subscribed by the Arch-Bishop Cranmer, the Lord Chancellor Rich, the Earl of Arundel, the Lords St John and Russell, Mr. Secretary Petre, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir Edward North, and Sir Edward Wotton. In Obedience unto whose Commands, as all the Bishops did not perform their parts alike: (Gardiner of Winchester, Bonner of London, Voyse of Exeter, and Sampson of Coventry and Lichfield, being more backward than the rest) so many Parish-Priests, not being willing to Advance so good a Work, laboured to disaffect the People to the present Government. And to that end it was endeavoured in their Sermons, to possess their Auditours with an ill opinion of the King; as if he did intend to lay strange Exactions on the Subject,

An. Reg. 2^o by forcing them to pay half a Crown a piece for every one, who should be Married; Christened, or Buried. For Remedy whereof it was Ordered by Proclamation, bearing Date the twenty fourth of April; That none should be permitted to Preach: but such as were Licenced under the Seals of the Lord *Protector*, or the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

In the next place we must attend the King's *Commissioners*, dispatched in the beginning of *March*, into every Shire throughout the Realm, to take a Survey of all Colleges, Free-Chapels, Chanteries, and Brother-Hoods, within the compass of the Statute, or Act of Parliament. According to the Return of whose Commissions, it would be found no difficult matter to put a just estimate and value on so great a Gift, or to know how to parcell out, proportion, and divide the Spoil betwixt all such, who had before in hope devoured it. In the first place, as lying nearest, came in the Free-Chapel of Saint *Stephen*, Originally Founded in the Palace at *Westminster*, and reckoned for the Chapel-Royal of the Court of *England*. The whole Foundation consisted of no fewer, then thirty eight Persons: viz. one Dean, twelve Canons, thirteen Vicars, four Clerks, six Choristers; besides a Verger, and one that had the Charge of the Chapel. In place of whom a certain Number were appointed for Officiating the daily Service in the Royal-Chapels: (*Gentlemen of the Chapel* they are commonly called) whose Salaries, together with that of the Choristers, and other Servants of the same, amounts to a round yearly Sum: and yet the King, if the Lands belonging to that Chapel had been kept together, and honestly laid unto the Crown, had been a very rich Gainer by it; the yearly Rents thereof being valued at 1085 l. 10s. 5 d. As for the Chapel it self, together with a Cloyster of curious Workmanship, built by *John Chambers*, one of the King's Physicians, and the last Master of the same; they are still standing as they were: the Chapel having been since fitted, and imployed for an House of Commons, in all times of Parliament.

At the same time also fell the College of *St. Martin's*, commonly called *St. Martin's le Grand*, situate in the City of *London*, not far from *Aldersgate*: first founded for a Dean, and Secular Canons, in the time of the *Conquerour*, and afterwards, privileged for a Sanctuary; the Rights whereof it constantly enjoyed without interruption, till all privilege of Sanctuary was suppressed in this Realm by King *Henry the Eighth*. But the Foundation it self being now found to be Superstitious, it was surrendered into the hands of King *Edward the Sixth*: who after gave the same, together with the remaining Liberties, and Precincts thereof, to the Church of *Westminster*: and they, to make the best of the King's Donation, appointed, by a Chapter held the seventh of *July*, that the Body of the Church, with the Quire and Isles, should be Leased out for fifty years, at the Rent of five Marks per Annum to one *H. Keeble* of *London*; excepting out of the said Grant, the Bells, Lead, Stone, Timber, Glass and Iron, to be sold and disposed of, for the sole Use and Benefit of the said Dean and Chapter. Which foul Transaction being made, the Church was totally pulled down; a Tavern built in the East part of it: the rest of the site of the said Church and College, together with the whole Precinct thereof, being built upon with several Tenements, and let out to Strangers; who very industriously affected to dwell therein (as the natural *English* since have done) in regard of the Privileges of the place, exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs of *London*; and governed by such Officers amongst themselves, as are appointed thereunto by the Chapter of *Westminster*.

But for this Sacrilege the Church of *Westminster* was called immediately in a manner to a sober Reckoning. For the Lord *Protector*, thinking it altogether unnecessary, that two Cathedrals should be Founded so near one another, and thinking, that the Church of *Westminster*, (as being of a late Foundation) might best be spared, had cast a longing eye upon the goodly Patrimony, which remained unto it. And being then unfurnished of an House, or Palace, proportionable

tionable unto his Greatness, he doubted not to finde room enough, upon the Dissolution and Destruction of so large a Fabrick, to raise a Palace, equal to his vast Designs. Which coming to the ears of *Benson*, the last Abbot, and first Dean of the Church, he could be bink himself of no other means to preserve the whole, but by parting for the present with more then half the Estate, which belonged unto it. And thereupon a Lease is made of seventeen Manours, and good Farms, lying almost together in the County of *Glocester*, for the Term of ninety nine years; which they presented to the Lord *Thomas Seymour*, to serve as an Addition to his Manour of *Sudeley*: humbly beseeching him to stand their Good Lord and Patron, and to preserv them in a fair Esteem, with the Lord *Protector*. Another Present of almost as many Manours, and Farms, lying in the Counties of *Glocester*, *Worcester*, and *Hereford*, was made for the like Term to Sir *John Mason*, a special Confident of the Duke's: not for his own, but for the use of his Great Master; which, after the Duke, all came to Sir *John Bourne*, principal Secretary of Estate in the time of Queen *Mary*. And yet this would not serve the Turn, till they had put into the Scale their Manour of *Islip*, conferred upon that Church by King *Edward the Confessor*; to which no fewer then two hundred Customary Tenants owed their Soil and Service: and, being one of the best wooded things in those parts of the Realm, was to be granted also without Impeachment of Wast, as it was accordingly. By means whereof the *Deanery* was preserved for the later Times; how it succeeded with the Bishoprick, we shall see hereafter. Thus *Benson* saved the *Deanery*; but he lost himself: for, calling to remembrance, that formerly he had been a means to surrender the *Abby*, and was now forced on the necessity of Dilapidating the Estate of the *Deanery*, he fell into a great disquiet of mind, which brought him to his death within few Moneths after. To whom succeeded Doctor *Cox*, being then *Almoner* to the King, Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, and Dean of *Christ Church*: and afterwards preferred by Queen *Elizabeth* to the See of *Ely*.

I had not singled these two (I mean St. *Martin's*, and St. *Stephen's*) out of all the rest: but that they were the best, and richest in their several kinds; and that there was more depending on the Story of them, then on any others. But *Bad Examples* seldom end where they first began. For the Nobility, and inferior Gentry, possessed of *Patronages*, considering how much the Lords, and Great men of the Court had improved their Fortunes, by the suppression of those Chanteries, and other Foundations, which had been granted to the King; conceived themselves in a capacity of doing the like, by taking into their hands the yearly Profits of those *Benefices*, of which by Law they onely were entrusted with the *Presentations*. Of which abuse Complaint is made by Bishop *Latimer*, in his Printed *Sermons*. In which we finde, That the Gentry of that Time invaded the Profits of the Church; leaving the Title onely to the Incumbent: and That Chantery-Priests were put by them into several Cures, to save their Pensions; pag. 38. that many *Benefices* were let out in Fee-Farm, (pag. 71) or given unto Servants for keeping of Hounds, Hawks, and Horses, and for making of Gardens; pag. 91, 114. And finally, That the Poor Clergy, being kept to some sorry Piltances, were forced to put themselves into Gentlemens Houses, and there to serve as Clerks of the Kitchen, Surveyours, Receivers, &c. pag. 241. All which Enormities (though tending so apparently to the Dishonour of God, the Disservice of the Church, and the Disgrace of Religion) were generally connived at by the Lords, and others; who onely had the power to Reform the same: because they could not question those, who had so miserably invaded the Churches Patrimony, without condemning of themselves.

Thus leaving *England* for a while, we are to take a short Survey of Affairs in *Scotland*, into which the French had put ten thousand Souldiers; three thousand of them being *Almains*, under the Command of *Monsieur D'Esse*; who, joyning with the *Scots*, laid Siege before the Town of *Haddington*, on *St. Peter's-Eve*. For the Relief whereof a strength of one thousand three hundred

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An. Reg. 2.^d dred Horse was sent from *Berwick*, under the Conduct of Sir Robert Bowes, and 1548. Sir Thomas Palmer; who, falling very unfortunately into the Hands of the Enemy, were for the most part slain or taken. The *English* notwithstanding made good the Town, and held it out so long; that in the end the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, with a Power of sixteen thousand men, (of which there were four thousand *Lanquenets*, or *Germane* Souldiers) appeared in fight. On whose approach, the Enemy withdrew themselves, and raised their Siege on or about the twentieth day of *August*; giving great commendation to the *English* Garison, for the notable service they had done in defence of the Town. The Siege being raised, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* with his Forces returned for *England*; leaving the Town well stored with Victuals, and plentifully furnished with all manner of Ammunition: which put the Souldiers of the Garison into so good heart; that they made many Sallies out, and frequently Skirmished with the *French*, and *Scots*, whom they found Quartered in the Villages and Towns adjoining. But, the matter being taken into Debate by the Council of *England*, it was Resolved, especially by those, who secretly envied at the Power and Greatness of the Lord *Protector*; That the keeping of the Town would not quit the Cost; as being farthest from the Borders, and not to be Relieved, if it were distressed, without the raising and impoying of a Royal Army. And thereupon the Earl of *Rutland* was sent thither with three thousand of the *Lanquenets*, and as many Borderers: who, coming to the Town on the twentieth of *September*, sleighted the Works; and, having destroyed the Houses, caused all the Ordnance, and Carriages, to be sent to *Berwick*, and returned without Battail. The voluntary quitting of which Town drew after it the loss of all the Peeces, which we held in *Scotland*.

The *English* Forces being removed from the Town of *Haddington*, the *French* immediately prepared for their going home-wards: carrying a richer Lading with them; then all the Arms, and Ammunition, which they brought at their coming. For, while the Army lay at the Siege at *Haddington*, the Ministers of the *French* King were busied in Treaty with the *Scots*, for putting the Young Queen into their Power, transporting her into *France*, and Marrying her unto the *Dauphin*. But in this point they found the Council much divided. Some thought, That the Conditions, offered by the Lord *Protector*, (not till then generally known) were to be embraced: in regard it gave them an assurance of ten years Peace at the least; and that, if either of the *Princes* died within that time, they should be left at Liberty, to Order the Affairs of that Kingdom to the most Advantage. But against this it was alledged by those of the opposite Party; (whom the *French* King had bought with ready Money, and Annual Pensions.) That, as long as the Queen remained amongst them, they should never be Free from the Pretensions of the *English*. From which, there was no question, but they would desist; when they saw the Ground thereof to be taken away by the Queens Removal. Of which Party, (besides those, which were corrupted by the Gold of *France*) were the *Bishops* and *Clergy*; who, being Zealous for the preservation of their Old Religion, abominated nothing more, then the Alliance with *England*. And so the matter being carried in behalf of the *French*, and there being now no further need of them for defence of the Countrey, they gave Order to make ready their Shipping, and nominated a set day for their Departure. Which day being come, they Coasted about *Scotland*, by the Isles of *Orkney*, took in the young Queen at *Dun-bristen*-Castle, and passing through *St. George's* Chanel arrived in *Bretaigne*; while a strong Squadron of the *English* attended for their coming in the *Narrow Seas*.

But this Departure of the *French*, though it much weakened, did not disanimate the *Scots*, for making trial of their Fortune against the *English*. *Hume*-Castle, and *Fass*-Castle, remained (amongst some others) as Thorns in their Sides: but they regained them both this year. *Hume*-Castle they surprised by means of some of their own Nation; who, being reputed Friends, and suffered to have free and frequent Access unto it, had Opportunity, both to discover the Weaknesses

Weaknesses of it, and by what Ways it might most easily be taken. And, being more cordially affected to their Old Country-men, then their New Acquaintance, they directed a select number of Souldiers to some secret Passages; by which, having first climbed up a very steep Rock, they found an Entrance into the Castle, put the secure Garison to the Sword, and possessed the Place, leaving a fair warning unto all others; *Never to trust the Courtiers, or Services of those, whom they have provoked to be their Enemies.* Fast-Castle they surprised by a War-like Stratagem. For the Governour having Commanded the neighbouring Villages, at a prefixed day, to bring in their Contribution of Corn, and other necessary Provision; the Enemy makes Use of this Opportunity. Souldiers, habited like *Peasants*, came at the day, fraught with their Burthens; whereof having eased their Horses, they carry them on their shoulders over the Bridge, (which joyned two Rocks together,) and so gained Entrance: the Watch-word being given, they cast down their Burthens, till the *Sentinels* open the Gates to their Fellows; and become Masters of the Place. The News of which Surprisals, together with that of the *Queens* Removal, being brought into the Court of *England*, which then began to be divided into Sides and Factions; there was no further Care taken for the Prosecution of the *Scottish* War: which for the present much refreshed that impoverished Kingdom.

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Now while these Traverses of War were made in *Scotland*, there was no solid Peace, though no open Discord in the Church of *England*. It hath been shewed; that Bishop *Gardiner*, having long lain Prisoner in the *Fleet*, was, on the Morrow after *Twelfth-Day* last, restored to Liberty; and permitted to return unto his *Diocese*. Where, contrary to the Promise made at his Enlargement, he began to shew himself displeased with the King's Proceedings in the case of *Images*. Concerning which he wrote a long Letter to the Lord *Protector*, on the twenty first of *May*, and backed it with another of the sixth of *June*: and otherwise appeared so cross to the King's Designs, that he was sent for to the Court, and after some Reproofs dismissed unto his house in *South Warke*, where he was commanded to remain untill further Order. But there also he behaved himself with much unquietness, meddling in many matters, which concerned the King; for which he had neither *Warrant*, nor *Commission*: whereof being once again admonished by their *Lordships*, he did not onely promise to conform himself like a good Subject; but to declare his Conformity to the World, in an open *Sermon*, in sundry *Articles* agreed upon; that such, as were offended, might be satisfied in him. St. *Peter's-Day*, then near at hand, was given him for the Day, whereon he was to Preach this *Sermon*. In which though he allowed the *Sacrament* to be Administred in both Kinds, and shewed his Approbation of the King's Proceedings in some other Points: yet in the rest he gave such little satisfaction to the King and Council; that the next day he was sent Prisoner to the *Tower*, where he remained till his Enlargement by Queen *Mary*.

The Punishment of this great *Prelate* did not so much discourage those of the *Remiss* Party: as his Example animated, and emboldened them to such Inconformity; as gave no small Disturbance to the King's Proceedings. For notwithstanding His great Care to set forth one Uniform Order of Administring the Holy Communion in both Kinds; yet so it happened, that, (through the perverse Obstinacy, and froward Dissembling of many of the inferior Priests, and Ministers, of Cathedral, and other Churches of this Realm) there did arise a marvellous Schisme, and Variety of Factions, in celebrating the *Communion-Service*; and Administration of the *Sacraments*, and other Rites, and Ceremonies of the Church. For some, zealously allowing the King's Proceedings, did gladly follow the Order thereof; and others, though not so willingly admitting them, did yet dissemblingly and patchingly use some part of them: but many, caustlessly concerning them all, would still continue in their former *Popery*. Besides, it is Observed in the Register-Book of the Parish of *Peterwarth*; "That many at this time affirmed the most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar to be of little regard

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" Church, and many other great Enormities committed: which they second-
" ed by oppugning the established Ceremonies; as *Holy Water, Holy Bread*, and
" divers other Usages of the seven Sacraments.

And yet these were not all the Mischiefs, which the Time produced. For, in Pursuance of this Schism, and to confirm the People in their former ways, many of those, which had been Licenced in Form, and Manner prescribed by the Proclamation of the twenty fourth of April, appeared as Active in Preaching against the king's Proceedings; as any of the Unlicenced Preachers had been found to be. Which being made known unto the King, and the Lords of the Council, it was advised; That a *Publick Liturgie* should be drawn, and confirmed by Parliament: with several Penalties to be inflicted on all those, who should not readily conform to the Rules, and Appointments of it. For though some ill-affected men might look upon the late Order for Administring the *Holy Sacrament* in the English Tongue, as the Act of some few Persons about the King; and not proceeding really from the King Himself: yet, when the King's Pleasure came to be declared by Act of Parliament, it was to be presumed; that (all such Subterfuges and Evasions being taken away) the Subjects would conform unto it without further trouble. Which being thus resolved upon, He caused those Godly Bishops, and other Learned Divines, whom He had formerly employed in drawing up the Order for the *Holy Communion*, to attend His pleasure on the first day of September then next following. Attending at the day appointed, it pleased His Majesty to commend unto them the framing of a *Publick Liturgie*, which should contain the Order of Morning and Evening Prayer, together with a Form of Administring the Sacraments and Sacramentals, and for the Celebrating of all other Publick Offices; which were required by the Church, of good Christian People. Which as His Majesty commanded out of a most Religious Zeal to the Honour of God, the Edification of His Subjects, and to the Peace and Happiness of His Dominions; so they (who knew no better Sacrifice, then Obedience) did chearfully apply themselves to the Undertaking.

And, that they might proceed therein, not onely with the less Disquiets, but with the greater Hope of gaining their desired End; it pleased His Majesty to declare by His Proclamation, bearing Date the twenty third day of the said Month of September, into what course he had put this Business: letting them know; That, for the settling of an Uniformity and Order throughout his Realm, and for putting an End to all Controversies in Religion, He had caused certain Godly Bishops, and other notable Learned men to be Congregated, or called together. And thereupon doth inferre, That, notwithstanding many of the Preachers, formerly Licenced, had behaved themselves very discreetly, and wisely; to the Honour of God, and the Contentation of His Highness: yet till such time, as the said Order should be generally set forth throughout the Realm, His Majesty did thereby inhibit all manner of Persons, whatsoever they be, to Preach in open Audience, in the Pulpit, or other Wise, by any sought colour, or fraud, to the disobeying of His Commandment. And this he did to this intent; That the whole Clergy in the mean space might apply themselves, to Prayer to Almighty God, for the better achieving of this same Godly Intent and Purpose; not doubting, but that all His Loving Subjects in the mean time would occupie themselves to God's Honour, with due Prayer in the Church, and patient Hearing of the Godly Homilies, heretofore set forth by His Highness Injunctions: and so endeavour themselves, that they may be the more ready, with thankfull Obedience to receive a most quiet, Godly and Uniform Order, through all His said Realms, and Dominions. And to the end, that His Majesty's Pleasure in the Premises should be the more punctually obeyed, He willeth and requirith all His Loving Officers and Ministers, as Well Justices of the Peace, as Adors Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, or any other His Officers, of what State, Degree, and Condition soever they be, to be attendant upon this Proclamation,

mation, and Commandment : and to see the Infringers, and Breakers thereof, to be Imprisoned, and His Highness, or the Lord Protector's Grace, or His Majestie's Council, to be certified thereof immediately, as they tendered His Majestie's Pleasure, and would answer to the contrary at their Perils.

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And here it is to be Observed ; That those, who had the chief directing of this weighty Business, were before-hand resolved, that none but English Heads, or Hands, should be used therein : left otherwise it might be thought, and perhaps Objected ; that they rather followed the Example of some other Churches, or were swayed by the Authority of those Foreign Assistants ; then by the Word of God, and the most uncorrupted Practice of the Primitive Times. Certain it is, that, upon the very first Reports of a Reformation here intended, Calvin had offered his Assistance to Arch-Bishop Crammer ; as himself confesseth. But the Arch-Bishop knew the Man, and refused the Offer. And it appears in one of Bishop Latimer's Sermons, that there was report, about this time, of Melancthon's coming ; but it proved onely a Report. And, though it was thought necessary, for the better seasoning of the Universities in the Protestant Reformed Religion ; that Martin Bucer, and Peter Martyr, two eminent Divines of the Foreign Churches, should be invited to come over : yet the Arch-Bishop's Letter of Invitation, sent to Martin Bucer, was not written till the twelfth day of October. At what time the Liturgie then in hand, being the chief Key to the whole Work of Reformation, was in very good forwardness ; and must needs be complestly finished, before he could so settle, and dispose his Affairs in Germany ; as to come for England. And though Peter Martyr, being either more at Leisure, or less engaged, or otherwise more willing to accept of the Invitation, came many Moneths before the other : yet neither do we finde him here, till the end of November, when the Liturgie had been approved of by the King and Council, if it had not also passed the Approbation of both Houses of Parliament. Nor was it likely, that they should make use of such a Man in composing a Liturgie ; wherein they were resolved to retain a great part of the Antient Ceremonies : who, being made Canon of Christ-Church in Oxford, and frequently present at Divine Service in that Church, could never be prevailed with, to put on the Surplice.

Being left therefore to themselves, they were at the more liberty for following the King's most Godly, and most Wise Directions : having in the first place an eye, and respect, to the most sincere, and Pure Religion, taught by the Scripture ; and, in the second, to the Usages of the Primitive Church : and making, out of both, one convenient and meet Order, Rite, and Fashion of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, to be had, and used in the Realm of England, and the Principality of Wales. Which being finished, they all subscribed their Names unto it ; but (*) Day of Chichester : who would by no means have his Hand in the Subscription ; as is related in the Register-Book of the Parish of Petworth. But, being subscribed by all the rest, it was by them, with all due Reverence, humbly presented to the King : by whom it was received to His great Comfort, and Quietness of mind ; as the Statute (*) telleth us. And being by him commended to the Lords, and Commons, then Asssembled in Parliament ; (which Parliament took beginning on the fourth day of November) they, did not onely give His Highness most hearty and lowly thanks, for his Care therein : but, on perusal of the Book, declared it to be done by the aid of the Holy Ghost. And thereupon, considering the Godly Prayers, Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies, in the said Book mentioned ; and also the reasons of Altering of those things, which be altered, and the retaining those things, which be retained ; together with the Honour of God, and the great Quietness, which by the Grace of God, was likely to ensue on such an Uniform Order, in Common Prayer, Rites, and External Ceremonies to be used in all England, and Wales, in Calice, and the Marches of the same : it was Enacted ; That all, and singular, Ministers, in any Cath-dral, or Parish-Church, or other Place, within this Realm of England, Wales, Calice,

(*) Sed Richardus Cisterciensis (ut ipse mihi dixit) non subscripsit. Lib. Petw. 1.
(*) Ad. 2. Edw. 6. 1.

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The passing of this *Act* gave great Offence to those of the *Remish* Party: not, that they could except against it, in regard either of the *Manner*, or *Matter* of it; (which they acknowledged to be Consonant to the *Antient Forms*) but because it was communicated to the People in the *Vulgar Tongue*. And this they charged, as a great Error in those Men; who had the chief Hand in the Conduct of that Affair: because that, by the *Rules* thereof, the *Scriptures* were to be read publicly in the *English Tongue*. Which, what else was it, (as they said) but the committing so much Heavenly Treasure unto Rusten Vessels? the trusting so much Excellent wine to such Musty Bottles? And, being that there are many things in the *Divine Offices* of the Church, *qua secreta esse debent*, as the *Cardinal* telleth us, which ought to have been kept as *Secrets* from all *Vulgar* knowledge; it must needs be of very ill Consequence, to communicate them to all sorts of People. But certainly the Holy Ghost was able to direct the Church in a better way; then such, as should be subje& unto Man's Exceptions. And he directs the Service of the Church to be Officiated in such a Language, to which the ignorant, and unlearned, may say *Amen*; 1 *Cor.* xiv. 9, 16. Upon which Words it is observed by *Lyra*, and *Aquinas*; two as great Clerks as any in the Church of *Rome*: That, The Publick Service of the Church, in the *Primitive Times*, was in the *Common Vulgar Language*. The like affirmed by Doctour *Harding*, as great a Stickler for that Church, and the Doctrines of it, as any other of his Time: adding withall; That it was necessary in the *Primitive Times*, that it should be so: and granting also; That it were still better, that the People had their Service in their own *Vulgar Tongue*, for their better understanding of it. So he, in Answer to the Challenge made by Bishop *Jewel*, Art. 3. *Scil.* 28, and 33. And therefore having the confession, and acknowledgment of the very Adversary; not onely as to the *Antiquity*, but the *Fitness* also of Celebrating *Divine Offices* in the *Vulgar Language*: it may be thought a loss both of Time and Travail, to press the Argument any further.

Which notwithstanding, for the more perfect clearing of the Point in question, it will be found upon a very easie search; that the Jews did Celebrate their *Divine Offices*, *Tra&atus*, and *Oblationes* (as the Father hath it) most commonly in the *Syriack*, and sometimes in the *Hebrew Tongue*, the natural Languages of that People; as is affirmed by St. *Ambrose*, upon 1 *Cor.* cap. 14. and out of him by *Durand*, in his *Rationale*. *Eckius*, a great Servant of the *Popes*, affirmeth in his *Common Places*; That the *Indians* have their Service in the *Indian Tongue*; and that St. *Hierom*, having Translated the whole Bible into the *Dalmatick*, procured that the Service should be celebrated in that Language also. The like Sr. *Hierom* himself, in his Epistle to *Heliodorus*, hath told us of the *Besti*, a *Sarmatian* People. The like St. *Basil*, in his Epistle to the *Neo-Cesarians*, assures us for the *Egyptians*, *Libyans*, *Palestinians*, *Phœnicians*, *Arabians*, *Syrians*, and such as dwell about the Bank of the River *Euphrates*. The *Ethiopians* had their *Mass*, the *Chaldeans* theirs, each in the Language of their Countries; which they still retain: so had the *Antiochians* of old, and all the scattered Churches of the *Eastern Parts*; which they continue to this day. Nay, rather then the People should be kept in Ignorance of the Word of God, and the *Divine Offices* of the Church, a signal *Miracle* should be wrought to command the contrary.

trary. For we are told of the *Sclavonians*, by *Aeneas Sylvius*, (who, being afterwards Pope, was called *Pius the Second*;) that being converted unto the Faith, they made suit unto the Pope, then being, to have their Publick Service in their Natural Tongue: but some delay being made therein by the Pope and Cardinals, a voice was heard, seeming to have come from Heaven, saying in the *Latine* Tongue; *Omnis Spiritus laudet Dominum, & omnis lingua confiteatur* Et: that is to say, Let every Soul praise the Name of God, and every Tongue or Language make Profession of it: whereupon their Desires were granted without more delay. Which probably might be a chief Inducement to *Innocent the Third*, to set out a Decree in the *Lateran Council*, importing, That in all such Cities, in which there was a Concourse of divers Nations, and consequently of Different Languages (as in most Towns of Trade there doth use to be) the Service should be said, and Sacraments administered, *Secundum diversitates Nationum, & Linguarum*; that is, According to the Difference of their Tongues and Nations. So that, if we consider the Direction of the Holy Ghost, the Practice of the *Primitive Times*, the General Usage of all Nations not intrahled to the Popes of Rome, the Confession of the very Adversary, the Act and Approbation of the Pope himself, and finally, the Declaration of God's Pleasure by so great a Miracle: The Church did noth ing in this Case, but what was justifiable in the sight, both of God, and Man.

But then again it is Objected on the other side, That neither the undertaking was advised, nor the Book it self approved, in a *Synodical* Way, by the Bishops and Clergy: but that it was the Act onely of some few of the Prelates, imployed therein by the King, or the Lord Protector, without the Privy, and Approbation of the rest. The Consideration whereof shall be referred to another place: when we shall come to speake of the King's Authority for the composing, and imposing of the (*) *Scottish Liturgy*.

In the mean time, we must take notice of another Act, of as great importance for the Peace, and Honour of the Church, and the Advancing of the Work of Reformation: which took away those positive Laws, by which all men in Holy Orders were restrained from Marriage. In which Statute it is first declared, That; It were much to be desired, that Priests, and all others in Holy Orders, might abstain from Marriage, that, thereby being freed from the Cares of Wed-lock, and abstracted from the Troubles of Domestical Business, they might more diligently attend the Ministry, and apply themselves unto their Studies. But, then withall it is considered, That as all men have not the Gift of Continence, so many great Scandals, and other notable Inconveniencies, have been occasioned in the Church by the enforced Necessity of a single Life, in those admitted unto Orders. Which seeing it was no more imposed on them, then on any other, by the Word of God, but onely such positive Laws and Constitutions, as had been made to that Effect by the Church of Rome: It was therefore Enacted by the Authority of the present Parliament; That, All such Positive Laws, and Ordinances, as prohibited the Marriages of Priests, or any other in Holy Orders, and Pains and Forfeitures therein contained, should be utterly void. Which Act, permitting them to marry, but looked on as a matter of Permission onely, made no small Pastime amongst those of the *Remish* Party: reproaching both the Priests, and much more their Wives, as not lawfully married; but onely suffered to enjoy the Company of one another, without Fear of Punishment. And thereupon it was Enacted in the Parliament of the fifth and sixth of Edw. 6. cap. 12. that, The Marriages of the Priests should be reputed lawfull, themselves being made Capable of being Tenants by Courtsey, their Wives to be endowed, as others, at the Common Law, and their Children Heritable to the Lands of their Fathers, or Mothers. Which Privileges, or Capacities rather, (notwithstanding the Repeal of this Statute in the Time of Queen Mary) they, and their Wives, and Children, still enjoyed without Disturbance, or Dispute.

And to say truth, it was an Act, not onely of much Christian Piety; but more Civil Prudence: the Clergy by this means being taken off from all Dependence,

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on the Popes of Rome, and rivited in their Dependance on their Natural Princes; to whom their Wives and Children serve for so many Hostages. The Consequents whereof was so well known to those of Rome: that when it was desired by the Ambassadors of the Emperour, and the Duke of Bavaria, in the Council of Trent, That Marriage might be permitted to the Priests in their several Territories, it would by no means be admitted. The Reason was; Because that having Houses, Wives and Children, they would depend no longer upon the Pope, but onely on their several Princes: that the Love to their Children would make them yield to many things, which were prejudicial to the Church, and in short time confine the Pope's Authority to the City of Rome. For otherwise if the Popes were not rather governed in this business by Reason of State, then either by the Word of God, or the Rules of Piety, they had not stood so flittly on an Inhibition, accompanied with so much Scandal, and known to be the onely Cause of too much Lewdness and Impurity in the *Romane* Clergy. If they had looked upon the Scriptures, they would have found, that Marriage was a Remedy ordained by God, for the preventing of Incontinencies, and wandring Lusts, extending generally to all, as much to those in Holy Orders, as to any others; as being subject all alike to Humane Infirmities. If they had ruled the Case by the Proceedings of the Council of Nice, or the Examples of many Good, and Godly men in the Primitive Times; they would have found, that, when the single Life of Priests was moved at that great Council, it was rejected by the general Consent of all the Fathers there assembled, as a Yoke intolerable: that *Euplychius*, a *Cappadocian* Prelate, was married after he had taken the Degree of a Bishop: the like observed of one *Phileus*, an *Egyptian* Prelate: and that it is affirmed by *Hierom*, That many Priests in his Time had their proper Wives. Had they consulted with the Stories of the middle Times, when Priests were forced to put away their Wives, by the Pope's Commandment, or else to lose the Benefices, which they were possessed of, they would have found what horrible Confusions did ensue upon it in all the Kingdoms of the West, what Tragical Exclamations were made against the Popes, for so great a Tyranny. Or finally, If they had looked upon the scandalous Effects, which this forced *Calibate* produced, they could not but have heard some News of *Pope Gregory's* Fish-Pond: and must have been informed in their own *Panormitan*, that the greatest part of the Clergy were given over to prohibited Lusts, and by others of their Canonists, that Clerks were not to be deprived for their Incontinency: considering, how few there were to be found without it, so universal was the Mischief, that it was thought uncapable of any Remedy.

If we desire to be further informed in it, as a matter Doctrinal, we shall finde many eminent men in the Church of Rome, to state the point in favour of a married Clergy. By *Gratian* it is said, That the Marriage of Priests is neither prohibited by the Law, or any precept in the Gospel, or any Canon of the Apostles. By Cardinal *Cajetan*, That it can neither be proved by Reason, nor good Authority, that a Priest committeth any sin by being married. By the same *Cajetan*, That Orders neither in themselves, nor as they are accompanied by the Title of Holy, are any Hinderances, or Obstructions in the Way of Marriage. By *Panormitan*, The *Calibate*, or the single Life of Priests, is neither of the Essence of Holy Orders, nor required by the Law of God. By *Antoninus*, That there is nothing in the Episcopal Function, which can disable the Bishop from the married life. By the Authour of the *Gloss* upon the Decrees, That the *Greek* Priests neither explicitly, nor implicitly, do bind themselves to Chastity or a single life. By *Pope Pius* himself in the Council of *Basil*, That many might be saved in a married Priesthood, which are in danger to be damned by living unmarried. By *Durand*, That it would be profitable to the Church, if Marriage were allowed to Priests, from whom it hath been found a very vain thing to look for chastity. And finally by *Martinus*, (*) That it seemed fit to many good, and Godly men, that all Laws for compelling a single life should be wholly abrogated.

(*) *Multis plurimum visum est, ut leges de Calibatu tollerentur propter Scandalum.*

rogated, for the avoiding of those Scandals, which ensued upon it. For all which Passages, together with the words of the severall Aurbours in the *Latine Tongue*, I shall refer the Reader to the Learned and Laborious Works of Bishop *Jewel*, in the Defence of his Challenge against Doctour *Harding*, cap. 8. 1. 3. And so I shut up this Discourse, and therewith the Defence of this Act of Parliament, with the most memorable Apophthegm of the said Pope *Pius*, viz. *That the Law had taken away Priests Wives, and the Devil had given them Concubines to supply their places.*

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Two other Acts were passed in this present Parliament, exceeding necessary for the Preservation of the Churches Patrimony, and the Retaining of good Order. The first was made for the Encouragement and Support of the Parochial Clergy, in the true Payment of their Tithes, lately invaded by their Patrons, and otherwise in danger to be lost for ever, by the avaritiousness of the Parishioners, as before was said. For Remedy whereof, it was Enacted, *That no Person, or Persons, should from thenceforth take, or carry away, any Tithes, or Tithes, which had been received, or paid, within the space of forty years next before the Date thereof, or of Right ought to have been paid, in the place, or places, situate in the same, before he hath justly divided, or set forth for the Tithes thereof, the tenth part of the same, or otherwise agree for the same Tithes, with the Parson, Vicar, or other Owner, Proprietary, or Farmer of the same, under the Pain or Forfeiture of the treble Value of the Tithes, so taken, or carried away.* To which a Clause was also added, enabling the said Parsons, Vicars, &c. to enter upon any man's Land, for the due setting out of his Tithes, and carrying away the same without Molestation; with other Clauses no less beneficial to the injured Clergy. And because the Revenue of the Clergy had been much diminished by the Loss of such Offerings, and Oblations, as had been accustomedly made at the Shrines of Certain Images, now either defaced, or removed; it was thought meet, to make them some amends in another way. And thereupon it was Enacted, *That every Person exercising Merchandises, Bargaining, and Selling, Cloathing, Hand-Craft, and other Art, and Faculty, being such kind of Persons, and in such Places, as heretofore, within the space of forty years then before passed, have accustomedly used to pay such Personal Tithes, or of right ought to pay, (other then such as the Common Day-Labourers shall yearly, at, or before the Feast of Easter,) shall pay for his Personal Tithes, the tenth part of his clear Gains; his Charges, and Expences, according to his Estate, and Condition, or Degree, to be there allowed, abated and deducted; with a Proviso for some Remedy to be had therein before the Ordinary, in the case of Tergiversation, or Refusal. But the Power of the Bishops, and other Ordinaries, growing less and less; and little, or no execution, following in that behalf, this last Clause proved of little Benefit to those, whom it most concerned: who, living for the most part in Market-Towns, and having no Predial Tithes to trust to, are thereby in a far worse Condition, then the Rural Clergy.*

There also passed another Act, for Abstinence from Flesh upon all such Days, as had been formerly taken, and reputed for Fasting-days. By which it was enjoyned That for the better subduing of the Body to the Soul, and the Flesh to the Spirit, as also for the Preservation of the breed of Cattle, the Encouragement of Mariners, and increase of Shipping; all manner of Persons should abstain from eating Flesh, upon the days there named; that is to say, all *Frydays* and *Saturdays* in the year, the Time of *Lent*, the *Ember-Days*, the *Eves*, or *Vigils*, of such Saints, as had been antiently used for Fasts by the Rules of the Church. An Act; or Ordinance, very seasonable, as the case then stood, the better to beat down the Neglect of all Days and Times of publick Fasting: which Doctour *Glasier* had cried up, and his Followers had pursued in contempt of Law. And here I should have closed this year, but that I am to remove some Errours about the Time of Doctour *Farrar's* Consecration to the See of Saint *David's*; put off by Bishop *Godwin* to the following year 1549: and ante-Dated by the Acts and Monuments

An. Reg. 2. *Monuments* to the fifth day of *December*, in the year fore-going. *An.* 1547. But by neither rightly. For first, I finde on good Record, that *Knight* departed not this life till *Michaelmas*-Day, *An.* 1547. At what time, and for some time after, *Doctour Barlow*, who succeeded *Knight*, was actually Bishop of *St. David's*; and therefore *Farrars* could not be Consecrated to that See some weeks before. I finde again in a very good Authour, that *Doctour Farrar* was the first Bishop made by Letters Patents, without Capitular Election: which could not be till after the end of the last years *Parliament*; because till then the King pretended not to any such Power of making Bishops. And Thirdly, if Bishop *Barlow* had not been Translated to the See of *Wells*, till the year 1549. as Bishop *Godwin* saith he was not; it must be *Barlow*, and not *Farrars*, who first enjoyed the benefit of such Letters Patents: because *Barlow* must first be removed to *Wells*, before the Church of *St. David's* was made void for *Farrars*. So that the Consecration of *Farrars*, to the See of *St. David's*, being placed by the *Canon* of that Church, (in an Information made against him) on the fifth of *September*; it must be on the fifth day of *September*, in this present year: and neither in the year 1547. as the *Acts* and *Monuments* make it; nor in the year 1549. as in Bishop *Godwin*.

Anno Regni Edw. Sexti 3^o. An. Dom. 1548, 1549.

An. Reg. 3^o *There* remains yet one Act of this *Parliament*, which we have not spoke of; but of a different nature from all the rest: I mean the Act for the Attainder of the Lord *Thomas Seimour*; whose Tragedy came on but now, though the Ground thereof was laid in the former year. The occasion, much like that of the two great Ladies in the *Roman* Story. Concerning whom it is related by *Herodian*: that, when the Emperour *Commodus* was unmarried, he permitted his Sister *Lucilla*, whom he had bestowed on *Pompeianus*, a Right Noble Senatour, to have a Throne erected for Her on the Publick Theatre; Fire to be borne before Her when she walked abroad; and to enjoy all other Privileges of a Prince's Wife. But, when *Commodus* had Married *Crispina*, a Lady of as great a Spirit, though of lower Birth; *Lucilla* was to lose her place, and to grow less in Reputation, then before she was. This so tormented her proud heart, when she perceived that nothing could be gained by disputing the Point: that she never left practicing one mischief on the neck of another, till she had endangered the young Emperour's life; but utterly destroyed her self, and all those friends, whom she had raised to advance her Interests. VVhich Tragedy (the Names of the Actours being onely changed) was now again played over in the Court of *England*.

Thomas Lord *Seimour*, being a man of lofty Aims, and aspiring Thoughts, had Married Queen *Katharine Parr*, the Relict of the King deceased; who looking on him as the Brother of the Lord *Protector*, and being looked on as Queen Dowager in the eye of the Court, did not conceive, that any Lady could be so forgetfull of her former Dignity, as to contend about the place. But therein she found her self deceived: for the *Protector's* Wife, a Woman of most infinite Pride, and of a Nature so imperious, as to know no rule but her own Will; would needs conceive her self to be the better Woman of the two. For, if the one were widow to the King deceased, the other thought her self to stand on the Higher ground, in having all advantages of Power above her.

For what said She within Her self; *Am not I wife to the Protector, who is King in Power, though not in Title; a Duke in Order and Degree; Lord Treasurer, and Earl Marshal, and what else he pleaseth; and one, who hath Ennobled His*

His highest Honours by his late great Victory? And did not Henry Marry *An. Reg. 2.*
Katharine Parr in His doting Days: When he had brought himself to
such a Condition by His Lusts, and Cruelty; that no Lady, who stood upon Her
Honour, would adventure on Him? Do not all Knees bow before Me, and all
Tongues celebrate My Praises, and all Hands pay the Tribute of Obedience to
Me, and all Eyes look upon Me, as the first in State; through whose Hands the
Principal Offices in the Court, and chief Preferments in the Church, are obser-
ved to pass? Have I so long Commanded him, who Commands two Kingdoms?
And shall I now give place to Her; who, in her former best Estate, was but
Latimer's Widow, and is now fain to cast Her self, for Support and Countenance,
into the despised Bed of a younger Brother? If Mr. Admiral teach his Wife no
better Manners; I am She, that will: and will choose rather to remove them both,
(whether out of the Court, or out of the World; shall be no great matter) then be
out-shined in My own Sphere, and trampled on within the Verge of my Jurisdi-
ction.

In this Impatience of Spirit, she rubs into the Head of the Duke her Husband
(over whom she had obtained an absolute Mastery) How much he was despised
by the Lord Admiral for his Mildness and Lenity: What secret Practices were on
foot, in the Court, and Kingdom, to bring him out of Credit with all sorts of
People. What store of Emissaries were employed to cry up the Lord Admiral,
as the Abler man: And finally, that, if he did not look betimes about him, he
would be forthwith dispossessed of his Place and Power; and see the same confer-
red on one of his own preferring. This first begat a Diffidence in the Duke of his
Brother's Purposes; which afterwards improved it self to an estranging of Affec-
tion, and at last into an open Breach. But before Matters could proceed to
the last Extremity, the Queen died in Child-birth, (which happened September
last, 1648) being delivered of a Daughter; who afterwards was Christened
by the name of Mary. A Lady of a mild and obliging Nature, honoured
by all the Court for her even Behaviour, and one, who in this Quarrel had been
merely passive; rather maintaining what she had, then seeking to invade the
place, which belonged not to her.

And here the Breach might have been closed, if the Admiral had not ran him-
self into further Dangers, by practicing to gain the good Affections of the
Princess Elizabeth. He was (it seems) a man of a strange Ambition in the
choice of his Wives, and could not level his Affections lower, then the Bed of
a Princess. For an Essay whereof he first addressed himself to the Lady Mary,
Duchess of Richmond and Somerset, Daughter of Thomas Duke of Nor-
folk, and Widow of Duke Henry before mentioned, the King's Natural Bro-
ther. But, she being of too high a Spirit to descend so low, he next applied
himself to the Widow-Queen: whom he beheld, as double jointured, one, who
had filled her Coffers in the late King's Time; and had been gratified with a Le-
gacy of four thousand pounds in Plate, Jewels, and Money: which he had
Means enough to compass; though all other Debts and Legacies should remain
unpaid. And on the other side She looked on him, as one of the Peers of the
Realm, Lord Admiral by Office, Uncle to the King, and Brother to the Lord
Protector, with whom she might enjoy all Content and Happiness, which a
virtuous Lady could desire. And that they might appear in the greater Splen-
dour, he took into his hands the Episcopal House, belonging to the Bishop of
Bath and Wells: which, being by him much Enlarged, and Beautified, came af-
terwards to the Possession of the Earls of Arundel, best known of late Times,
by the name of Arundel-House. And so far all things went on smoothly
betwixt him and his Brother; though afterwards there were some distrust
between them: but this last Practice gave such an hot Alarm to the
Duchess of Somerset; that nothing could content her, but his absolute Ru-
in. For what hope could she have of Disputing the Precedence with any of
King Henrie's Daughters: who, if they were not married out of the Realm, might
Create

An. Reg. 3. Create many Troubles, and Disturbances in it? Nor was the Lord *Protector* so insensible of his own Condition, as not to fear the utmost Danger; which the Effecting of so great an Enterprize might bring upon him: So that the Rupture, which before had begun to close, became more open then before, made wider by the Artifices of the *Earl of Warwick*; who, secretly playing with both hands, exasperated each of them against the other, that so he might be able to destroy them both.

1543

The Plot being so far carried on, the *Admiral* was committed to the *Tower*, on the sixteenth of *January*, but never called unto his Answer, it being thought safer to Attaint him by *Act of Parliament*, where Power and Faction might prevail, then put him over to his *Peers* in a Legal way. And, if he were guilty of the Crimes, which I finde charged upon him in the *Bill of Attainder*, he could not, but deserve as great a Punishment, as was laid upon him. For, in that *Act*, he stands condemned, for Attempting to get into his Custody the Person of the King, and the Government of the Realm: for obtaining many Offices, retaining many Men into his Service, for making great Provision for Money, and Victuals: for endeavouring to marry the Lady Elizabeth the King's Sister, and for persuading the King, in His Tender Age, to take upon Him the Rule, and Order, of Himself. But *Parliaments* being Governed by a fallible Spirit, the Business still remaineth under such a Cloud: that he may seem rather to have fallen a Sacrifice to the Private Malice of a Woman; then the Publick Justice of the State. For, the *Bill of Attainder* passing at the End of the Parliament, which was on the fourteenth day of *March*, he was beheaded at *Tower-Hill*, on the sixth day after, (the Warrant for his Execution coming under the hand of his own Brother,) at what time he took it on his Death: That, he had never committed, or meant any Treason against King, or Kingdom. Thus, as it is affirmed of the Emperour *Valentinian*; that, by causing the right Noble *Ætius* to be put to Death, he had cut off his Right Hand with his Left: so might it be affirmed of the Lord *Protector*; that, when he signed that unhappy Warrant, he had with his Right Hand robbed himself of his greatest Strength. For as long as the two Brothers stood together, they were good support unto one another: but now, the one being taken away, the other proved not Substantive enough to stand by himself, but fell into his Enemies hands within few Moneths after. Comparing them together, we may finde the *Admiral* to be Fierce in Courage, Courty in Fashion, in Personage Stately, in Voice Magnificent; the *Duke* to be Mild, Affable, Free, and Open, more easie to be wrought upon, and no way Malicious: the *Admiral* generally more esteemed amongst the Nobles; the *Duke* Honoured by the Common People: the Lord *Protector*, to be more desired for a Friend; the Lord *Admiral*, to be more feared for an Enemy. Betwixt them both, they might have made one excellent man; if, the Defects of each being taken away, the Virtues onely had remained.

The *Protector*, having thus thrown away the chief Prop of his House, hopes to repair that Ruin, by erecting a Magnificent Palace. He had been bought out of his purpose for building on the *Deanery* and *Clofe* of *Westminster*, and casts his Eye upon a piece of Ground in the *Strand*; on which stood three Episcopal Houses, and one Parish-Church: the Parish-Church Dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*; the Houses belonging to the Bishops of *Worcester*, *Lichfield*, and *Landaff*. All these he takes into his Hands; the Owners not daring to oppose, and therefore willingly consenting to it. Having cleared the place, and projected the intended Fabrick, the Workmen found, that more Materials would be wanting to go thorough with it, then the Demolished Church and Houses could afford unto them. He thereupon resolves for taking down the Parish-Church of *Saint Margarets* in *Westminster*, and turning the Parishioners, for the celebrating of all Divine Offices, into some part of the *Nave*, or main Body, of the *Abby-Church*, which should be marked out for that purpose. But the Workmen had no sooner advanced their Scaffolds; when the Parishioners gathered together in great Multitudes, with Bows, and Arrows, Staves, and Clubs, and other such

such offensive Weapons; which so terrified the Workmen, that they ran away in great Amusement, and never could be brought again upon that Employment. An. Reg. 3^o
1549.

In the next place, he is informed of some superstitious, or rather Superstitious Buildings on the North-side of Saint Paul's, that is to say, a goodly *Cloyster*, environing a goodly piece of Ground, called *Pardon-Church-Yard*, with a *Chapel* in the midst thereof, and beautified with a piece of most curious Workmanship, called the *Dance of Death*, together with a fair *Charnel-House*, on the South-side of the Church, and a Chapel thereunto belonging. This was conceived to be the safer undertaking, the Bishop then standing on his good Behaviour, and the Dean and Chapter of that Church, (as of all the rest) being no better in a manner by reason of the late Act of Parliament) then *Tenant at Will* of their great Landlords. And upon this he sets his Workmen, on the tenth of April, takes it all down, converts the Stone, Timber, Lead, and Iron, to the use of his intended Palace, and leaves the Bones of the dead Bodies to be buried in the Fields in unhallowed Ground. But, all this not sufficing to compleat the Work, the Steeple, and most parts of the Church of Saint John's of Jerusalem, not far from Smith-field, most beautifully built not long before by *Dockwray*, a late *Priour* thereof, was blown up with *Gunpowder*; and all the Stone thereof employed, to that purpose also. Such was the Ground, and such were the Materials of the Duke's New Palace, called *Sommerfet-House*: which either he lived not to finish, or else it must be very strange; that having pulled down two Churches, two Chapels, and three Episcopal Houses, (each of which may be probably supposed, to have had their *Oratories*) to finde Materials for this Fabrick, there should be no room purposely erected for Religious Offices.

According unto this Beginning, all the year proceeds; in which there was nothing to be found; but Troubles, and Commotions, and Disquiets, both in Church and State. For about this Time there started up a sort of men, who either gave themselves, or had given by others, the Name of *Gospellers*: of whom Bishop Hooper tells us, in the Preface to his Exposition on the *Ten Commandments*; That, *They be better Learned then the Holy Ghost*: for they wickedly attribute the Cause of Punishment, and Adversity to God's Providence, which is the Cause of no ill, as he himself can do no ill; and of every Mischiefe that is done, they say it is God's Will. And at the same time, the *Anabaptists*, who had kept themselves unto themselves in the late King's Time, began to look abroad, and disperse their Dotages. For the preventing of which Mischiefe, before it grew unto a Head, some of the Chiefs of them were convented, on the second of April, in the Church of Saint Paul, before the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of *Westminster*, Doctour Cox, Almoner to the King, Doctour May, Dean of that Church, Doctour Cole, Dean of the Arches, and one Doctour Smith, afterwards better known by the Name of Sir Thomas Smith. And being convicted of their Errours, some of them were dismissed onely with an Admonition, some sentenced to a Recantation, and others condemned to bear their Faggots at Saint Paul's Cross. Amongst which last, I finde one *Campney*: who, being suspected to incline too much to their Opinions, was condemned to the bearing of a Faggot, on the Sunday following, (being the next Sunday after Easter,) Doctour Miles Coverdale, who afterwards was made Bishop of Exeter, then preaching the Rehearal Sermon, which Punishment so wrought upon him, that he relinquished all his former Errours, and entred into *Holy Orders*, flying the Kingdom for the better keeping of a good Conscience in the Time of Queen Mary, and coming back again with the other Exiles, after Her Decease. At what time he published a Discourse, in the way of a Letter, against the *Gospellers* above-mentioned. In which he proves them to have laid the blame of all sins, and wickedness, upon God's Divine Decree of *Predestination*, by which men were compelled unto it. His Discourse answered not long after by John Veron, one of the Prebends of Saint Paul's, and Robert Crowley, Parsons of Saint Giles's near Cripplegate;

An. Reg. 3.^o gate; but answered with Scurrility and Reproach enough, according to the Humour of the *Predestinarians*.

1549.

And now the Time draws on for putting the *New Liturgie* in Execution, framed with such Judgment out of the Common Principles of Religion, wherein all Parties do agree, that even the Catholics might have resorted to the same without Scruple, or Scandal; if Faction more then Reason did not sway amongst them. At *Easter*, some began to officiate by it, followed by others as soon as Books could be provided. But on *Whitsunday*, being the day appointed by *All of Parliament*, it was solemnly Executed in the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, by the Command of Doctour May, for an example unto all the rest of the Churches in London: and consequently of all the Kingdom. In most parts whereof, there was at the first a greater forwardness then could be rationally expected; the Learned men amongst the *Papists* conforming to it, because they found it differed little in the maine (no not so much as in the Canon of the Mass) from the *Latine Service*. And the unlearned had good reason to be pleased therewith, in regard that all Divine Offices were Celebrated in a Tongue which they understood, whereby they had means and opportunity to become acquainted with the chief Mysteries of their Religion, which had been before kept secret from them. But then withall, many of those, both Priests and Bishops, who openly had Officiated by it, to avoid the Penalty of the Law, did Celebrate their private *Masses* in such secret places, wherein it was not easie to discover their doings. More confidently carried in the Church of St. Paul: in many Chapels whereof, by the Bishop's sufferance, the former *Masses* were kept up; that is to say *Our Ladies Mass*, the *Apostles Mass*, &c. performed in *Latine*, but Disguised by the *Englishe* names of the *Apostles Communion*, and *Our Ladies Communion*. Which coming to the knowledge of the Lords of the Council, they addressed their Letters unto Bonner: Dated the twenty fourth of June; and Subscribed by the Lord Protellour, the Lord Chancellour Rich, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord St. John, Chief Justice Mountague, and Mr. Cecil, made not long after one of the Secretaries of State. Now the Tenour of the said Letters was as followeth.

After Hearty Commendations; having very credible notice, that within that your Cathedral Church, there be as yet the *Apostles Mass*, and *Our Ladies Mass*, and other *Masses* of such peculiar name, under the defence and nomination of *Our Ladies Communion*, and the *Apostles Communion*, used in private Chapels, and other remote places of the same, and not in the Chancel, contrary to the King's Majesties Proceedings: the same being for that misuse displeasing unto God; for the place, Pauls, in example not tolerable; for the fondness of the name, a scorn to the Reverence of the Communion of Christ's Body and Blood: We, for the Augmentation of God's Glory, and Honour, and the Consonance of His Majestic's Lawes, and the avoiding of Murmur, have thought good, to will and Command you, that from henceforth no such *Masses* in this manner be in your Church any longer used; but that the Holy Blessed Communion, according to the Act of Parliament, be Administred at the High Altar of the Church, and in no other places of the same; and onely at such time as your High *Masses* were wont to be used: except some number of People desire (for their necessary business) to have a Communion in the Morning, and yet the same to be executed at the Chancel on the High Altar; as it is appointed in the Book of the Publick Service; without Catele, or Digression from the Common Order. And herein you shall not onely satisfie Our Expectation of your Conformity in all Lawfull things; but also avoid the murmur of sundry, that be therewith justly offended. And so We bid your Lordship farewell, &c.

These Commands being brought to Bonner, he commits the Execution of them to the Dean and Chapter; not willing to engage himself too far upon either

An. Reg. 3.

1546.

ther side, till he had seen the Issue of such Commotions, as were then raised in many Parts of the Kingdom on another occasion. Some Lords and Gentlemen, who were possessed of Abbey-Lands, had caused many inclosures to be made of the waste Grounds in their several Mannours; which they conceived to be (as indeed it was) a great advantage to themselves, and no less profitable to the Kingdom. Onely some poor and indigent people were offended at it, in being thereby abridged of some liberty, which before they had in raising to themselves some inconsiderable profit from the Grounds enclosed. The Lord *Protector* had then lost himself in the love of the Vulgar, by his severe, if not unnatural proceedings against his Brother; and somewhat must be done for his restoring to their good opinions, though to the prejudice of the Publick. Upon this ground he caused a Proclamation to be Published in the beginning of *May*; Commanding, that they who had inclosed any Lands, accustomed to be common, should upon a certain pain, before a day signed, lay them open again. Which so encouraged the rude Commons, in many Parts of the Realm, that without Expecting the time limited by the Proclamation, they gathered together in a riotous, and tumultuous manner; pulled up the Pales, flung down the Banks, and filled the Ditches, laying all open as before. For which, some of them had been set upon, and slain in *Wiltshire*, by Sir *William Herbert*; others suppressed by force of Armes, conducted by the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, as were those in *Oxfordshire*; and some again reduced to more moderate, and sober courses, by the perswasion of the Lords and Gentlemen; as in *Kent*, and *Sussex*. But the most dangerous commotions, which held so long, as to Entitle them to the name of *Rebellions*, were those of *Devonshire*, and *Norfolk*; places remote from one another, but such as seemed to have communicated Counsels, for carrying on of the design.

The first of these in Course of time, was that of *Devonshire*, began (as those in other places) under pretence of throwing open the enclosures, but shortly found to have been chiefly raised, in maintenance of their old Religion. On *Whitsun-Munday*, *June* the tenth, being next day after the first exercising of the Publick *Liturgie*. Some few of the Parishioners of *Samsford Courtney*, compelled their Parish-Priest, who is supposed to have invited them to that compassion, to let them have the *Latine Mass*, as in former times. These being seconded by some others, and finding that many of the better sort were more like to engage in this quarrel, then in the other; prevailed with those which before had Declared onely against Inclosures, to pretend Religion for the cause of their coming together. And that being done, they were first Headed by *Humphry Arundel* Esquire, Commander of *St. Michaels Mount*, and some other Gentlemen, which so increased the Reputation of the Cause, that in short time they had made up a Body of ten thousand men. Of this Commotion, there was but little notice taken at the first beginning, when it might easily have been crushed; the Lord *Protector* not being very forward to suppress those Risings, which seemed to have been made by some incouragement from his Proclamations. In which Respect, and that his good fortune now began to fail him, when the mischief did appear with a face of danger, and could not otherwise be redressed but by force of Arms; in stead of putting himself into the Head of an Army, the Lord *Russel* is sent down with some slender Forces, to give a stop to their Proceedings. But whether it were, that he had any secret instructions to drill on the time, or that he had more of the States-Man, then the Souldier in him; or that he had not strength enough to encounter the Enemy, he kept himself aloof, as if he had been sent to look on, at a distance, without approaching near the danger.

The Rebels in the mean time increasing as much in confidence, as they did in numbers; sent their Demands unto the King. Amongst which, one more specially concerned the *Liturgie*, which therefore I have singled out of all the rest, with the King's Answer thereunto, in the words that follow. It was demanded

An. Reg. 5^o by the Rebels; That, for as much as we constantly believe, that after the Priest bath spoken the words of Consecration, being at Mass there Celebrating, and Consecrating the same; there is very really the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, God and Man; and that no substance of Bread and Wine remaineth after, but the very self-same Body, that was born of the Virgin Mary, and was given upon the Crois for our Redemption: therefore we will have Mass Celebrated as it was in Times past, without any man communicating with the Priests; for as much as many, presuming unworthily to receive the same, put no difference between the Lord's Body, and other kind of meat; some saying, that it is Bread both before and after; some saying, that it is profitable to no man, except he receive it, with many other abused Terms.

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To which Demand of theirs the King thus Answered; viz. That for the Mass, I assure you, no small study, nor travail hath been spent, by all the Learned Clergy therein, and, to avoid all contention, it is brought even to the very use as Christ left it, as the Apostles used it, as the holy Fathers delivered it; indeed somewhat altered from that, to which the Popes of Rome, for their Lucre, had brought it. And, although (saith He) ye may hear the contrary from some Popish evil men, yet Our Majesty, which for Our Honour may not be blemished and stained, assureth you, that they deceive, abuse you, and blow these Opinions into your heads, to finish their own purposes.

But this Answer giving no content, they Marched with all their Forces to the Siege of Exeter; carrying before them in their March (as the Jews did the Ark of God, in the Times of old) the Pix, or Consecrated Host, borne under a Canopie, with Crosses, Banners, Candlesticks, Holy-Bread, and Holy-Water, &c. But the Walls of Exeter fell not down before this False Ark; as Dagon did before the True. For the Citizens were no less gallantly resolved to make good the Town; then the Rebels were desperately bent to force it. To which Resolution of the Citizens, the natural Defences of the City, (being round in Form, situate on a rising Hill, and environed with a good Old Wall,) gave not more Encouragement: then some insolent speeches of the Rebels; boasting, that they would shortly measure the Silks, and Sattens therein, by the length of their Bows. For forty days the Siege continued, and was then seasonably raised; the Rebels not being able to take it sooner, for want of Ordnance: and the Citizens not able to have held it longer, for want of Victuals; if they had not been Succoured, when they were. One fortunate Skirmish the Lord Russell had with the daring Rebels about the passing of a Bridge, at which he slew six hundred of them: which gave the Citizens the more Courage to hold it out. But the coming of the Lord Gray, with some Companies of *Almain-Horse*, seconded by three hundred *Italian-Shot* under the Command of *Baptista Spinoli*, put an end to the Business. For, joyning with the Lord Russell's Forces, they gave such a strong Charge upon the Enemy: that they first beat them out of their Works; and then compelled them, with great Slaughter, to raise their Siege. Blessed with the like Success in some following Fights, the Lord Russell entereth the City on the sixth of August; where he was joyfully received by the half-starved Citizens: whose Loyalty the King rewarded with an increase of their Privileges; and giving to their Corporation the Manour of *Eviland*. The sixth of August, since that Time, is observed amongst them for an Annual Feast, in perpetual Gratitude to Almighty God, for their Deliverance from the Rebels; with far more Reason, then many such Annual Feasts have been lately Instituted in some Towns, and Cities, for not being gained unto their King. But, though the Sword of War was Sheathed, there remained work enough for the Sword of Justice; in Executing many of the Rebels, for a Terrour to others. Arundel, and the rest of the Chiefs, were sent to London, there to receive the recompense of their Deserts; most of the Raskal Rabble Executed by *Martial Law*; and the Vicar of St. Thomas, one of the Principal Incendiaries, hanged on the Top of his own Tower, apparailled in his Popish Weeds, with his Brads at his Girdle.

The

The *Norfolk* Rebels brake not out, till the twentieth of *June*; beginning first at a place called *Ailborough*: but not considerable, either for Strength, or Number, till the sixth of *July*; when mightily encreased by *Ket*, a *Tanner* of *Windham*: who took unto himself the conducting of them. These men pretended onely against *Enclosures*: and, if *Religion* was at all regarded by them, it was rather kept for a *Reserve*; then suffered to appear in the *Front* of the *Battail*. But, when their Numbers were so vastly multiplyed, as to amount to twenty thousand; nothing would serve them, but the suppression of the *Gentry*, the placing of *New Councillours* about the King, and somewhat also to be done in favour of the *Old Religion*. Concerning which they thus Remonstrate to the King, or the People rather; viz: First, *That the Free-born Commonalty was oppressed by a small Number of Gentry: Who glutted themselves with Pleasure; whilst the poor Commons, wasted with dayly Labour, did, like Pack-Horses, live in extreme Slavery. Secondly, That Holy Rites, Established by Antiquity, were abolished, New ones Authorised, and a New Form of Religion obtruded; to the subjecting of their Souls to those Horrid Pains, which no Death could terminate. And therefore, Thirdly, That it was necessary for them, to go, in person, to the King, to place New Councillours about him, during his Minority; removing those, who, ruling as they list, confounded things Sacred and Profane, and regarded nothing but the enriching of themselves with the Publick Treasure, that they might Riot it amidst these Publick Calamities.*

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Finding no satisfactory Answer to these proud Demands, they March directly towards *Norwich*; and possess themselves of *Moulsbold-Hill*: which gave them not onely a large Prospect over; but a full Command upon that City: which they entered, and re-entered as they pleased. For what could a Weak City do in Opposition to so Great a Multitude: being neither strong by Art, nor Nature; and therefore not in a capacity to make any Resistance. Under a large Oak, on the top of this Hill, (since called *The Oak of Reformation*) *Ket* keeps his Courts, of *Chancery*, *King's Bench*, &c. forcing the neighbouring *Gentry* to submit to his lawless Ordinances, and committing many huge Enormities, under pretense of rectifying some Abuses. The King sends out his Gracious Pardon; which the proud Rebels entertain with Contempt, and Scorn. Whereupon it was resolved; that the *Marquess of North-hampton* should be sent against them, accompanied with the Lords *Sheffield*, and *Wentworth*, and divers Gentlemen of Note, assisted by a Band of *Italians* (under the Command of *Malatesta*, an Experienced Souldier.) The *Marquess* was an excellent Courtier; but one more skilled in Leading a *Measure*, than a *March*: so that being beaten out of *Norwich*, (into which he had peaceably been admitted) with loss of some Persons of Principal Quality, and the firing of a great part of the City, he returns ingloriously to *London*.

Yet all this while, the Lord *Protector* was so far from putting himself upon the Action, that he suffered his most dangerous Enemy, the Earl of *Warwick*, to go against them, with such Forces, as had been purposely provided for the War of *Scotland*. Who, finding the City open for him, entertained the Rebels with divers Skirmishes; in most of which he had the better: which put them to a Resolution of forsaking the *Hill*, and trying their Fortune in a *Battail*, in a place called *Dussingdale*, where they maintained a bloody Fight. But, at the last, were broken by the Earl's good Conduct, and the valiant Loyalty of his Forces. Two thousand of the Rebels are reported to have been slain in the Fight and Chase, the residue of them scattered over all the Country, the Principals of them taken, and deservedly Executed: *Robert Ket* hanged on *Norwich-Castle*; *William*, his Brother, on the top of *Windham-Steeple*; nine of his chief Followers on as many Boughs of the Oak, where *Ket* held his Courts. Which great Deliverance was celebrated in that City by a Publick Thanksgiving on the twenty seventh of *August*: and hath been since perpetuated Annually on that day, to these present Times. The like Rising happened about this time in *Torkshire*, began by *Dale*, and

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and *Ombler* two seditious persons, and with them it ended, for being taken in a Skirmish, before their number had amounted to three thousand men, they were brought to *York*, where they were executed, with some others, on the twenty first of September, then next following.

The breaking out of these Rebellions, but most especially that of *Devonshire*, quickned the Lords of the Council to a sharper course, against all those whom they suspected not to favour the King's Proceedings, nor to advance the Execution of the Publick *Liturgie*, amongst whom, none was more distrusted then *Bonner* of *London*, concerning whom it was informed, that by his negligence, not onely many People within his Diocess, were very forgetfull of their Duty to God, in frequenting the Divine Service, then by Law established, but divers others utterly despising the same, did in secret places often frequent the Popish Mass. For this he is Commanded to attend the Lords of the Council on the eleventh of August, by whom he was informed of such Complaints as were made against him, and so dismissed with certain private Injunctions to be observed by him for the time to come. And for a further Trial to be made of his Zeal and Loyalty (if it were not rather for a Snare to entrap him in) he was Commanded to Preach against the Rebels, at Saint *Paul's* Cross, on the first of September, and there to shew the unlawfulness of taking Arms on Pretence of Religion. But on the contrary, he not onely touched not upon any thing which was enjoyned him by the Council, but spent the most part of his Sermon in maintenance of the Gross, Carnal, and Papistical presence of Christs Body and Blood, in the most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar. Complaints whereof, being made by *William Latimer*, Parson of *St. Laurence Poultney*, and *John Hooper*, sometimes a *Cisterian* Monk; a Commission is issued out to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Rocheſter* and *Peterborough*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, and Doctor *May*, before whom he was convened at *Lambeth*, on the tenth of the Moneth, where after many Shifts on his part, and much patience on theirs, he is taken *pro confesso*, on the twenty third, and in the beginning of *October* deprived of his Bishoprick. To whom succeded Doctor *Nicholas Ridley*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, a Learned, Stout, and Resolute Prelate, as by the Sequel will appear: not actually translated till the twelfth of April, in the year next following, and added not long after to the Lords of the Council.

The necessary Execution of so many Rebels, and this seasonable Severity against Bishop *Bonner*, did much facilitate the King's Proceedings in the Reformation. As certainly the Opposition to Authority when it is suppressed, both makes the Subject, and the Prince more absolute. Howsoever to make sure Work of it, there passed an act of Parliament in the following Session, (which also took beginning on the fourth of November) for taking down such Images, as were still remaining in the Churches; as also for the bringing in of all *Antiphonaries*, *Missalls*, *Breviaries*, *Offices*, *Horaries*, *Primers*, and *Processionals*, with other Books of False and Superstitious Worship. The Tenour of which Act was signified to the Subject by the King's Proclamations, and seconded by the Missives of Arch Bishop *Crammer*, to the Suffragan Bishops, requiring them to see it put in execution with all Care and Diligence. Which so secured the Church on that side, that there was no further Opposition against the Liturgie by the *Romish* Party, during the rest of this King's Reign. For what can any workman do when he wants his Tools, or how could they Advance the Service of the Church of *Rome*, when the Books by which they should officiate it, were thus taken from them.

But then there started up another Faction, as dangerous to the Church, as opposite to the Publick *Liturgie*, and as destructive of the Rules of the Reformation, then by Law established, as were those of *Rome*. The Arch-Bishop and the rest of the Prelates, which co-operated with him in the Work, having so far proceeded in abolishing many Superstitions, which before were used, resolved

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solved in the next place to go forwards with a Reformation in a Point of Doctrine. In Order whereunto *Melancthon's* coming was expected the year before, but he came not then. And therefore Letters were directed by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* to *Martin Bucer*, and *Peter Martyr*, two Great and Eminent Divines, but more addicted to the *Zuinglian*, then the *Lutheran* Doctrines, in the point of the Sacrament. *Martyr* accordingly came over in the end of November, and, having spent some timewitb the Arch-Bishop in his House at *Lambeth*, was dispatched to *Oxford*, where he was made the King's Professour for Divinity, and about two years after made Canon of *Christ-Church*. In his first Lectures he is said by *Sanders* (if he may be credited) to have declared himself to much a *Zuinglian* in that point, as to give great offence to *Cranmer*, and the rest of the Bishops; but afterwards, upon notice of it, to have been more moderate, and to conform his Judgment to the Sense of those Learned Prelates: Which whether it be true or not, certain it is, that his Readings were so much disliked by some of that University; that a publick Disputation was shortly had, betwixt him, and some of those who disliked his Doings: in which he publickly maintained these two Propositions: 1. That the Substance of the Bread and Wine was not changed; and 2. That the Body and Blood of Christ was not Carnally and Bodily in the Bread and Wine, but united to the same Sacramentally. And for the better Governing of the Disputation, it was appointed by the King, that Doctour *Cox*, Chancellour of that University, assisted by one Mr. *Morrison*, a right Learned man, should preside as Judges, or Moderatours, as we call them; by whom it was declared in the open Scholes, that *Martyr* had the upper hand, and had sufficiently answered all Arguments, which were brought against him. But *Chadsey* the chief of the Opponents, and the rest of those who disputed with him, acknowledged no such Satisfaction to be given unto them; their party noising it abroad (according to the Fate of such Disputations) that they had the Victory.

But *Bucer* not coming over at the same time also, he was more earnestly invited by *Pet. Alexander*, the Arch-Bishop's Secretary, whose Letters bear Date *March 24.* which so prevailed with him at the last, that in *June* we finde him here at *Canterbury*, from whence he writes to *Peter Martyr*, who was then at *Oxford*. And being here, he receives Letters from *Calvin*, by which he was advised to take heed of his old fault (for a fault he thought it) which was to run a (*) moderate course in his Reformations. The first thing that he did at his coming hither (as he saith himself) was to make himself acquainted with the *English Liturgie*; translated for him into *Latine*, by *Alexander Alefine*, a Learned *Scot*, and generally well approved of by him, as to the main Frame, and Body of it, though not well satisfied perhaps in some of the particular Branches. Of this he gives account to *Calvin*, and desires some Letters from him to the Lord Protectors (with whom *Calvin* had already began to tamper) that he might finde the greater favour, when he came before him, which was not till the Tumults of the time were composed and quieted. Having received a courteous entertainment from the Lord Protectors, and being right heartily welcomed by Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, he is sent to take the Chair at *Cambridg*. Where his first Readings gave no such distast to the Learned Academicks, as to put him to the necessity of challenging the Dissentients to a Disputation: though in the Ordinary Form, a Disputation was there held at his first coming thither, concerning the Sufficiency of Holy Scripture, the Fallibility of the Church, and the true Nature of Justification. But long he had not held the place, when he left this life, deceasing on the nineteenth of *January*, 1550. according to the computation of the Church of *England*, to the great loss and grief of that University. By the chiefest Heads whereof, and most of the Members of that Body, he was attended to his Grave with all due Solemnity: of which more hereafter.

But so it was, that the Account which he had given to *Calvin* of the *English Liturgie*, and his desiring of a Letter from him to the Lord Protectors, proved

(*) *Mediis
conflis vel
Authorem esse,
vel approba-
rem. Calvin.
Epist. ad Bucer.*

An. Reg. 3. proved the occasions of much trouble to the Church, and the Orders of it. For Calvin, not forgetting the Repulse he found at the hands of *Craemer*, when he first offered his Assistance, had screwed himself into the Favour of the Lord *Protector*. And thinking nothing to be well done, which either was not done by him, or by his Direction (as appears by his Letters to all Princes, which did but cast an eye towards a Reformation) must needs be meddling in such Matters, as belonged not to him. He therefore writes a very long Letter to the Lord *Protector*; in which, approving well enough of set Forms of Prayer, he defends more particularly to the *English Liturgy*, in canvassing whereof, he there excepteth against *Commémoration of the Dead* (which he acknowledgeth however to be very Antient,) as also against *Chrism*, and *Extreme Unction*; the last of which being rather allowed of, then required by the Rules of that Book: which said, he maketh it his Advice, that all these Ceremonies should be abrogated, and that withall he should go forwards to Reform the Church without fear or wit, without regard of Peace at home, or Correspondency abroad: such Considerations being onely to be had in *Civil Matters*: but not in *Matters of the Church*;

(*) In quo nihil non ad Dei Verbum exigi fas est. Epist. ad Prot.

(*) ut vel moderentur, vel rescindamus, &c. ibid.

(*) nisi maturè compositum esset Dissidium de Ceremoniis. p. 98.

(*) where in not any thing is to be Exacted, which is not warranted by the Word, and in the managing whereof, there is not any thing more distastfull in the eyes of God, then Worldly Wildom, (*) either in moderating, cutting off, or going backwards; but meerly as we are directed by his Will revealed.

In the next place, he gives a touch on the Book of *Homilies*, which *Bucer*, (as it appears by his Epistle to the Church of *England*) had right well approved of. These very faintly he permits for a season onely; but by no means allows of them for a long continuance, or to be looked on as a Rule of the Church, or constantly to serve for the instruction of the People: and thereby gave the hint to the *Zuinglian Gospellers*, who ever since almost have declaimed against them.

And whereas some Disputes had grown by his setting on, or the Pragmatick Humour of some Agents, which he had amongst us, about the Ceremonies of the Church, then by Law established, he must needs trouble the *Protector* in that business also. (*) To whom he writes to this effect, That the *Papists* would grow insolenter every day then other, unless the differences were composed about the Ceremonies. But how? not by reducing the Opponents to Conformity, but by encouraging them rather in their Opposition: which cannot but appear most plainly to be all he aimed at, by soliciting the Duke of *Somerset*, in behalf of *Hooper*, who was then fallen into some troubles upon that; of which more hereafter.

Now in the Heat of these Employments, both in Church and State, the *French* and *Scotts* lay hold on the Opportunity, for the Recovering of some Forts, and Peeces of Consequence, which had been taken from them by the *English* in the former War. The last year *Bulloign-Siege* was attempted by some of the *French*, in hope to take it by Surprise, and were courageously repulsed by the *English* Garrison. But now they are resolved to go more openly to work, and therefore send an *Herald* to defy the King, according to the Noble manner of those Times, in proclaiming War, before they entred into Action against one another. The *Herald* did his Office on the eighth of *August*, and presently the *French*, with a considerable Army, invade the Territory of *Bulloign*. In less then three weeks, they possess themselves of *Blackness*, *Hamiltone*, and *New-Haven*, with all the Ordnance, Ammunition, and Victuals in them. Few of the Souldiers escaped with Life: but onely the Governour of *New-Haven*, (a Bastard Son of the Lord *Sturton's*,) who was believed to have betrayed that Fort unto them, because he did put himself immediatly into the Service of the *French*. But they sped worse in their Designs by Sea, then they did by Land: for giving themselves no small Hopes in those broken Times, for taking in the Islands of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, they made toward them with a great number of Gallies: but they were so manfully encountered with the King's Navy, which lay then hovering on those Coasts; that, with the loss of a Thousand men, and great spoil

spoil of their Gallies, they were forced to retire into *France*, and desist from their purpose. Nor were the *Scots*; in the mean time, negligent in preparing for their own Defence; against whom some considerable Forces had been prepared in the Beginning of this Summer, but most unhappily diverted: though very fortunately employed for the Relief of *Exeter*, and the taking of *Norwich*. So that, no Succours being sent for the Relief of those Garrisons, which then remained unto the *English*; the *Scots*, about the middle of *November* following, courageously assault the strong Fort of *Bonticrage*, take it by Storm, put all the Souldiers to the Sword; except the Captain: and him they spared, not out of any Pity, or Humane Compassion, but because they would not lose the Hope of so great a Benefit, as they expected for his Ransom. Nothing now left unto the *English*, of all their late Purchases, and Acquisitions in *Scotland*: but the strong Fort of *Aymouth*, and the Town of *Rox-borough*.

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The loss of so many Peeces in *France*, one after another, was very sad News to all the Court; but the Earl of *Warwick*. Who purposely had delayed the sending of such Forces, as were prepared against the *French*, that the Forts above-mentioned might be lost: that, upon the loss thereof, he might project the Ruin of the Lord *Protector*. He had long cast an envious Eye at his Power and Greatness; and looked upon himself, as a man of other parts, both for Camp and Counsel; fitter in all Respects to Protect the Kingdom, than he that did enjoy the Title. He looked upon him also, as a man exposed to the Blows of Fortune, in being so fatally deprived of his greatest strength, by the Death of his Brother: after which he had little left unto him, but the worst half of himself; feared by the *Lords*, and not so well beloved by the Common People, as he had been formerly. There goes a Story, that Earl *Godwine*, having treacherously slain Prince *Alfred*, the Brother of *Edward the Confessor*, was afterwards present with the King, when his Cap-bearer, stumbling with one foot, recovered himself by the Help of the other. One Brother helps another, said Earl *Godwine* merrily: And so, replied the King as tartly, My Brother might have been useful unto me; if you had pleased to spare his Life, for my present Comfort. The like might have been said to Earl *Dudley of Warwick*: That, if he had not lent an helping hand to the Death of the *Admiral*, he could not so easily have tripp'd up the Heels of the Lord *Protector*. Having before so luckily taken in the Out-works, he now resolves to plant his Battery for the Fort itself. To which end he begins to muster up his Strengths, and make ready his Forces, knowing which way to work upon the *Lords* of the Court: many of which began to stagger in their good Affections, and some openly to declare themselves the *Protector's* Enemies. And he so well applied himself to their several Humours, that in short time after his Return from *Norfolk*, with Success and Honour, he had drawn unto his side the Lord Chancellor *Rich*; the Lord *Saint-John*, Lord Great Master; the Marquess of *Northampton*; the Earl of *Arundel*, Lord Chamberlain; the Earl of *Southampton*; Sir *Thomas Cheney*, Treasurer of the Household; Sir *John Gage*, Constable of the Tower; Sir *William Peter*, Secretary; Sir *Edward Mountague*, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Sir *Edward North*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *John Baker*, Sir *Edward Wotton*, Doctor *Wotton*, and Sir *Richard Southwell*. Of which some shewed themselves against him upon former Grudges, as the Earl of *Southampton*; some out of hope to share those Offices amongst them, which he had ingrossed unto himself; many, because they loved to follow the strongest side; few in regard of any Benefit, which was like to Redound by it to the Common-Wealth; the greatest part complaining, that they had not their equal Dividend, when the Lands of *Chantries*, *Free-Chapels*, &c. were given up for a Prey to the greater Courtiers; but all of them disguising their private Ends, under pretense of doing service to the Publick.

The Combination being thus made, and the *Lords* of the Defection convened together, at *Ely House* in *Holborn*, where the Earl then dwelt: they sent for the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, to come before them. To whom it is declared by the

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the Lord Chancellour *Riesh* (a man of *Sommerſes*'s own preferring) in a long Oration, in what dangers the Kingdom was involved by the miſ- Government, and Practices of the Lord *Protector*: againſt whom he objected alſo many Miſdemours: ſome frivolous, ſome falſe, and many of them of ſuch a Nature, as either were to be condemned in themſelves, or forgiven in him. For in that Speech he charged him, amongſt other things, with the loſs of the King's Peeces in *France*, and *Scotland*, the ſowing of Diſſenſion betwixt the Nobility and the Commons, Embezelling the Treasures of the King, and inverting the Publick ſtock of the Kingdom to his private uſe. It was Objected alſo; That he was wholly acted by the Will of his Wife, and therefore no fit man to command a Kingdom: That he had interrupted the ordinary Courſe of Juſtice, by keeping a Court of *Requeſts* in his own Houſe, in which he many times determined of mens Free-holds: That he had demolished many Conſecrated Places, and Biſhopcal Houſes, to Erect a Palace for himſelf, ſpending one hundred pounds per diem, in ſuperfluous Buildings: That by taking to himſelf the Title of *Duke of Sommerſes*, he declared plainly his aſpiring to the Crown of this Realm: and finally, having ſo unnaturally laboured the Death of his Brother, he was no longer to be truſted with the Life of the King. And thereupon he deſires, or conjures them rather, to joyn themſelves unto the *Lords*, who aimed at nothing in their Counſels, but the Safety of the King, the Honour of the Kingdom, and the Preſervation of the People in Peace and Happineſs. But theſe Deſigns could not ſo cloſely be contrived, as not to come unto the Knowledge of the Lord *Protector*, who then remained at *Hampton-Court*, with the reſt of the *Lords*, who ſeemed to continue firm unto him. And, on the ſame day, on which this meeting was at *London*, (being the ſixth day of *October*) he cauſeth Proclamation to be made at the Court-Gates, and afterwards in other places near adjoining; requiring all ſorts of perſons to come in, for the defence of the King's Perſon: whom he conveyed the ſame night unto *Windſore-Caſtle*, with a ſtrength of five hundred men, or thereabouts; too many for a Guard, and too few for an Army. From thence he writes his Letters to the Earl of *Warwick*, to the reſt of the *Lords*, as alſo to the Lord Mayour, and City of *London*, of whom he demanded a ſupply of a thouſand men for the preſent ſervice of the King. But that Proud-City, ſeldom true to the Royal Interests, and ſecretly obſequious to every popular Pretender, ſeemed more inclinable to gratifie the *Lords* in the like Demands, then to comply with his Deſires. The News hereof being brought unto him, and finding that Maſter Secretary *Peter*, whom he had ſent with a ſecret Meſſage to the *Lords* in *London*, returned not back unto the Court, he preſently flung up the *Cards*: either for want of Courage to play out the *Game*; or rather chooſing willingly to loſe the *Set*, then venture the whole *Stock* of the Kingdom on it. So that, upon the firſt coming of ſome of the oppoſite *Lords* to *Windſore*, he puts himſelf into their hands: by whom, on the fourteenth day of the ſame Moneth, he is brought to *London*, and committed Priſoner to the *Tower*; pitied the leſs, even by thoſe that loved him, becauſe he had ſo tamely betrayed himſelf.

The Duke of *Sommerſes*, no longer to be called *Protector*, being thus laid up; a Parliament beginneth (as the other two had done before) on the fourth of *November*. In which there paſſed two *Acts* of eſpecial conſequence, (beſides the *Act* for removing all Images out of the Church, and calling in all Books of falſe and ſuperſtitious Worſhip, before-remembered,) to the concerns of Religion. The firſt declared to this Effect; That ſuch form, and manner of making, and Conſecrating Arch-Biſhops, and Biſhops, Priests, Deacons, and other Miniſters of the Church, as by ſix Prelates, and ſix other Learned Men of this Realm, learned in God's Law, by the King to be appointed and aſſigned, or by the moſt number of them, ſhall be deviſed for that purpoſe, and ſet forth under the Great Seal, before the Firſt of *April* next coming, ſhall be lawfully exerciſed, and uſed, and no other. The number of the Biſhops, and the Learned Men, which are appointed by this *Act*, aſſure me, that the King made choice of the very ſame; whom he had formerly im-

ployed

ployed in composing the *Liturgie*; the Bishop of *Chichester* being left out, by reason of his Retractoriness in not subscribing to the same. And they accordingly applied themselves unto the *Work*, following therein the *Rules* of the Primitive Church, as they are rather recapitulated, then ordained, in the fourth Council of *Carthage*, Anno 401. Which, though but National in it self, was generally both approved, and received (as to the Form of Consecrating Bishops, and inferiour Ministers) in all the Churches of the *West*. Which Book, being finished, was made use of, without further Authority, till the year 1552. At what time, being added to the second *Liturgie*, it was approved of, and confirmed, as a part thereof, by *Act of Parliament*, An. 5. Edw. 6. cap. 1. And of this Book it is, we finde mention in the 36th. Article of Queen *Elizabeth's* Time. In which it is Declared; That, *Whosoever were Consecrated, and Ordered, according to the Rites thereof, should be reputed, and adjudged to be lawfully Consecrated, and rightly Ordered.* Which Declaration of the Church was afterwards made good by *Act of Parliament*, in the eighth year of that Queen: in which the said *Ordinal*, of the third of King EDVVARD the Sixth, is confirmed, and ratified.

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The other of the said two *Acts* was, *For enabling the King to nominate Eight (Bishops, as many Temporal Lords, and sixteen Members of the Lower House of Parliament; for reviewing all such Canons, and Constitutions, as remained in force, by Virtue of the Statute made in the 21th year of the late King HENRY; and fitting them for the Use of the Church, in all Times succeeding.* According to which *Act*, the King directed a Commission to Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, and the rest of the Persons, whom he thought fit to nominate to that employment. And afterwards appointed a Sub-Committee of eight Persons, to prepare the *Work*, & make it ready for the rest; that it might be dispatched with more the expedition: which said eight persons were, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, Doctour *Thomas Goodrick*, Bishop of *Eliz*; Doctour *Richard Cox*, the King's Almoner, and *Peter Martyr*, Doctour in Divinity; *William May*, and *Rowland Tylour*, Doctours of the Laws; *John Lucas*, and *Richard Goodrick*, Esquires. By whom the *Work* was undertaken, and digested, fashioned according to the Method of the *Romane Decretals*; and called by the Name of *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, &c. But not being Commissioned herunto, till the eleventh of *November* in the year 1551, they either wanted time to communicate it to the chief Commissioners, by whom it was to be presented to the King; or found the King encumbered with more weighty matters; then to attend the penial of it. And so the King dying (as he did) before he had given life unto it by his Royal Signature, the Design miscarried: never thought fit to be resumed in the following Times, by any of those; who had the Government of the Church, or were concerned in the Honour, and Safety of it.

There also passed another *Act*, in Order to the Peace of the Common-Wealth, but especially procured by the Agents of the Duke of *Sommerset*; the better to secure him from all Attempts, and Practices, for the Times ensuing; by which his Life might be illegally endangered. The purport of which *Act* was, to make it High Treason, for any twelve Persons, or above, assembled together, to kill, or imprison any of the King's Council; or alter any Laws; or continue together the space of an hour, being Commanded to return by any Justice of the Peace, Mayour, Sheriff, &c. Which *Act*, intended by his Friends for his Preservation, was afterwards made use of by his Enemies, for the onely means of his Destruction; deferred a while, but still resolved upon, when occasion served. It was not long before Earl *Dudly* might perceive; that he had served other mens Turns against the Duke, as well as his own: and that, having served their Turns therein, he found no such forwardness in them, for raising him unto the Place. They were all willing enough to unhorse the Duke; but had no mind, that such a rank Rider, as the Earl, should get into the Saddle. Besides, he was not to be told, that there was nothing to be charged against the Duke, which could touch his life; that so many men, of different Humours, were not like to hold long in a Plot together, now their Turns were served; that the Duke's Friends

An. Reg. 3^o could not be so dull, as not to see the emptiness of the Practice, which was forged against him; nor the King so forgetfull of his Uncle, when the Truth was known, as not to raise him up again to his former height: it therefore would be fittest for his ends, and purposes, to close up the Breach, to set the Duke at Liberty, from his Imprisonment; but so to order the Affair, that the Benefit should be acknowledged to proceed from himself alone. But first, the Duke must so acknowledge his Offences; that his Adversaries might come off with Honour. In Order whereunto, he is first *Articled* against, for many Crimes and Misdemeanours, rather imputed to him, then proved against him. And unto all these he must be laboured to subscribe, acknowledging the Offences contained in them, to beg the Favour of the Lords; and cast himself upon his Knees, for his Majesty's Mercy. All which he very poorly did, subscribing his Confession on the twenty third of December. Which he subjoynd unto the Articles, and so returned it to the Lords.

Anno Regni Edw. Sexti 4^o. An. Dom. 1549, 1550.

An. Reg. 4^o *1549.* *1550.* The Lords, thus furnished with sufficient matter for a Legal Proceeding, condemned him, by a Sentence passed in the House of Peers, unto the Loss of all his Offices; of Earl Marshal, Lord Treasurer, and Lord Protector: as also to the Forfeiture of all his Goods, and near two thousand pounds of good yearly Rents. Which being signified unto him, he acknowledged himself, in his Letter of the second of February, to be highly favoured by their Lordships; in that they brought his Cause to be Finable. Which Fine, though it was to him almost unsupportable, yet he did never purpose to contend with them, nor once to justify himself in any Action. He confess'd, That, being none of the wisest, he might easily err: that it was hardly possible for any man, in Eminent place, so to carry himself; that all his Actions should be blameless in the eye of Justice. He therefore submitted himself wholly to the King's Mercy, and to their Discretions, for some Moderation: desiring them, to conceive of what he did amiss; as rather done through Rudeness, and want of Judgment, then through any malicious Meaning: and, that he was ready both to do, and suffer, what they should appoint. And finally, he did again, most humbly, upon his Knees, intreat Pardon, and Favour; and they should ever find him so lowly to their Honours, and Obedient to their Orders, as he would thereby make Amends for his former Follies.

By which Submission (it may be called an *Abjection*) as he gave much secret Pleasure to the most of his Adversaries: so he gained so far upon the King; that he was released of his Imprisonment on the fourth day after. And by his Majesty's Grace, and Favour, he was discharged of his Fine: his Goods, and Lands, being again restored unto him; except such, as had been given away: either the malice of his Enemies being somewhat appeased, or wanting power, and credit, to make Resistance.

This great Oak being thus shrewdly shaken, there is no doubt, but there will be some gathering up of the Sticks, which were broken from him, and somewhat must be done, as well to gratify those men, which had served the Turn, as to incline others to the like Propensions. And therefore upon Candlemas-Day, being the day, on which he had made his humble Submission before-mentioned, William Lord St. John, Lord Great Master, and President of the Council, is made Lord Treasurer; John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, Lord High Chamberlain, is preferred to the Office of Lord Great Master; the Marquis of Northampton created Lord High Chamberlain; Sir Anthony Wingfield, Captain

tain of the Guard, is made Comptroller of the King's House, in the place of *An. Reg. 4.*
Sir William Paget, (of whom more anon) and *Sir Thomas Darcie* advanced to
 the Office of Vice-Chamberlain, and Captain of his Majesty's Guard. And, *1549.*
 though the Earls of *Arundel*, and *Southampton*, had been as forward as any of *1550.*
 the rest, in the Duke's destruction; yet now, upon some Court-displeasures,
 they were commanded to their Houses, and dismissed from their Attendance at
 the Council-Table: the Office of Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household
 being taken from the Earl of *Arundel*, and bestowed on *Wentworth*, ennobled
 by the Title of Lord *Wentworth*, in the first year of the King. Some Honours had
 been given before, between the time of the Duke's Acknowledgment, and the
 Sentence passed on him by the Lords; and so disposed, that none of the
 Factions might have any ground for a Complaint. One of each side being
 taken out for these Advancements. For, on the nineteenth day of *January*,
William Lord *St. John*, a most affectionate Servant to the Earl of *Warwick*,
 was preferred unto the Title of Earl of *Wiltshire*; the Lord *Russell*, who
 had made himself the Head of those, which were engaged on neither side, was
 made Earl of *Bedford*; and *Sir William Paget*, Comptroller of his Majesty's
 Household, who had persisted faithfull to the Lord *Protector*, advanced to the
 Dignity of a *Baron*, and not long after to the *Chancery-ship* of the *Duchy* of
Launceston.

Furnished with Offices, and Honours, it is to be presumed, that they would
 find some way to provide themselves of sufficient Means, to maintain their
 Dignities. The Lord *Wentworth*, being a younger Branch of the *Wentworths*
 of *Yorkshire*, had brought some Estate with him to the Court; though not e-
 nough, to keep him up in Equipage, with so great a Title. The want where-
 of was supplied in part, by the Office of Lord Chamberlain, now conferred
 upon him; but more by the goodly Manours of *Steburneth* (commonly called
Stepney) and *Hackney*, bestowed upon him by the King, in consideration of
 the Good and Faithfull Services before performed. For so it happened, that
 the *Dean and Chapter* of *St. Paul's*, lying at the Mercy of the Times, as before
 was said, conveyed over to the King the said two Manours, on the twelfth day
 after *Christmas*, now last past, with all the Members and Appertinances there-
 unto belonging. Of which, the last named was valued at the yearly rent of 41.
 pounds, 9. s. 4. d. The other at 140. pounds, 8. s. 11. d. ob. And, being
 thus vested in the King, they were by *Letters Patents*, bearing Date the sixteenth
 of *April*, then next following, transferred upon the said Lord *Wentworth*. By
 means whereof, he was possessed of a goodly Territory, extending on the
Thames, from *St. Katharine's* near the *Tower* of *London*, to the Borders of *Es-*
sex, near *Black-wall*; from thence along the River *Lea* to *Stratford le Bow*;
 and, fetching a great compass on that side of the City, contains in all no fewer,
 then six and twenty *Town-ships*, *Streets*, and *Hamlets*; besides such Rows of
 Building, as have since been added in these later Times. The like provision was
 made by the new Lord *Paget*, a *Londoner* by Birth, but by good Fortune, mix-
 ed with Merit, preferred by degrees, to be one of the Principal *Secretaries* to the
 late King *Henry*: by whom he was employed in many Embassies, and Negoti-
 ations. Being thus raised, and able to set up for himself, he had his share in the
 division of the Lands of *Chantery*, *Free-Chapels*, &c. and got into his hands
 the Episcopal House, belonging to the Bishop of *Exeter*, by him enlarged,
 and beautified, and called *Paget-House*; sold afterwards to *Robert*, Earl of *Leic-*
ester: from whom it came to the late Earls of *Essex*, and from them took the
 name of *Essex-House*, by which it is now best known. But, being a great House
 is not able to keep it self, he played his Game so well; that he got into his pos-
 session the Manour of *Beau-desart* (of which he was created *Baron*) and ma-
 ny other fair Estates, in the County of *Stafford*, belonging partly to the Bishop,
 and partly to the *Dean and Chapter* of *Lichfield*: neither of which was able to
 contend with so great a Courtier, who held the See, and had the Ear of the
Protector,

An. Reg. 4^o *Protestour*, and the King's to boot. What other Course he took to improve his Fortunes, we shall see hereafter; when we come to the last part of the Tragedy of the Duke of *Sommerfet*.

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For *Sommerfet*, having gained his Liberty, and thereby being put into a Capacity of making use of his Friends, found Means to be admitted to the King's Presence: by whom he was not onely welcomed with all the kind Expressions of a Gracious Prince, and made to sit down at his own Table; but the same day (the eighth of *April*) he was again sworn one of the Lords of the Privy Council. This was enough to make Earl *Dudly* look about him, and to pretend a Reconciliation with him for the present; whom he meant first to make secure, and afterwards strike the last blow at him, when he least look'd for it. And, that the knot of Amity might be tyed the faster, and last the longer, (a *True-Love's-Knot* it must be thought or else nothing worth) a Marriage was negotiated between *John* Lord Viscount *Lisle*, the Earl's Eldest Son, and the Lady *Ann Seimour*, one of the Daughters of the Duke; which Marriage was joyfully solemnized on the third of *June*, at the King's Mannour-House of *Shene*; the King himself gracing the Nuptials with his Presence. And now, who could imagine, but that, upon the giving of such Hostages unto one another, a most inviolable League of Friendship had been made between them; and that, all Animosities and Displeasures being quite forgotten, they would more powerfully Co-operate to the publick Good? But, leaving them, and their Adherents, to the dark Contrivances of the Court, we must leave *England* for a time, and see how our Affairs succeeded on the other side of the Sea. Where, in the middle of the former Dissensions, the *French* had put us to the Work in the way of Arms, and after got the Better in a Treaty of Peace.

They had, the last year, taken in all the Out-works, which seemed the strongest Ramparts, of the Town of *Bulloign*; but had not strength enough to venture on the Town it self; provided plentifully of all necessaries to endure a Siege, and bravely Garisoned by men of too much Courage, and Resolution, to give it up upon a Summons. Besides, they came to understand, that the *English* were then Practising with *Charles* the *Emperour*, to associate with them in the War, according to some former Capitulations made between those Crowns. And, if they found such Difficulties, in maintaining the War against either of them, when they fought singly by themselves, there was no hope of any good Success against them, should they unite, and poure their Forces into *France*. Most true it is; that, after such time, as the *French* had bid Defiance to the King; and that the King, by reason of the Troubles and Embroilments at home, was not in a Condition to attend the Affairs of *France*, Sir *William Paget* was sent Ambassador to *Charles* the Fifth to desire Succour of Him, and to lay before Him the Infancy, and several Necessities of the young King, being then in the twelfth year of His Age. This desire when the *Emperour* had refused to hearken to, they besought Him; that he would, at the least, be pleased to take into His Hands, the keeping of the Town of *Bulloign*: and that, for no longer time, then untill King *EDWARD* could make an End of the Troubles of His Subjects at home, and compose the Discords of the Court, which threatened more Danger then the other. To which Request He did not onely refuse to hearken; except the King would promise to restore the *Catholick Religion* as He called it, in all His Dominions; but expressly commanded, that, neither His Men, nor Ammunition, should go to the Assistance of the *English*. An Ingratitude not easie to be marked with a fitting Epithete: considering what fast Friends the Kings of *England* had alwaies been to the House of *Burgundy*, the Rights whereof remained in the person of *Charles*; with what sums of Money they had helped them; and what sundry Ways they had made for them, both in the *Nether-Lands*; to maintain their Authority, and in the Realm of *France* it self, to increase their Power. For, from the Marriage of *Maximilian*, of the Family of *Austria*, with the Lady *Mary* of *Burgundy*, (which happened in the year

1478.)

1478.) unto the Death of *Henry the Eighth*, (which fell in [the year 1546] are just threeſcore and eight years. In which time onely, it was found, on a juſt account, that it had coſt the Kings of *England*, at the leaſt, fix Millions of Pounds, in the meer Quarrels of that Houſe.

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But the *French*, being more aſſured, that the *Engliſh* held ſome ſecret Practice with the *Emperour*, then certain what the Iſſue thereof might be, reſolved upon a Peace with *EDWARD*: in hope of getting more by Treaty, then he could by Force. To this end one *Guidolti*, a *Florentine*, is ſent for *England*: by whom many Overtures were made to the Lords of the Council; not as from the King, but from the Conſtable of *France*. And ſpying with a nimble Eye, that all Affairs were governed by the Earl of *Warwick*, he reſolved to buy him to the *French*, at what price ſoever: and ſo well did he ply the Buſineſs; that, at the laſt, it was agreed, that four Ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to *France* from the King of *England*; to treat with ſo many others of that Kingdom, about a Peace between the Crowns: but that the Treaty it ſelf ſhould be held in *Guiſnes*, a Town belonging to the *Engliſh*, in the *Marches of Calice*. In purſuance whereof, the Earl of *Bedford*, the new Lord *Paget*, Sir *William Peter*, Principal Secretary of *Eſtate*, and Sir *John Maſon*, Clerk of the Council, were, on the twenty firſt of *January*, diſpatched for *France*. But no ſooner were they come to *Calice*, when *Guidolti* brings a Letter to them from *Monsieur d' Rochpot*, one of the four, which were appointed for that Treaty, in behalf of the *French*. In which it was deſired, that the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors would repair to the Town of *Bulloign*, without putting the *French* to the Charge, and Trouble, of ſo long a Journey, as to come to *Guiſnes*. Which being demurred on by the *Engliſh*, and a Poſt ſent unto the Court, to know the pleaſure of the Council in that particular: they received word, (for ſo the Oracle had directed) that they ſhould not ſtand upon Punctilioes, ſo they gained the point; nor hazard the Subſtance of the Work, to preſerve the Circumſtances. According whereunto, the Ambaſſadors removed to *Bulloign*, and pitch'd their Tents without the Town, as had been deſired, for the Reception of the *French*: that ſo they might enter on the Treaty, for which they came. But then a new Difficulty appeared: for the *French* would not croſs the Water, and put themſelves under the Command of *Bulloign*; but deſired rather, that the *Engliſh* would come over to them, and fall upon the Treaty in an Houſe, which they were then preparing for their Entertainment. Which being alſo yielded to, after ſome Diſputes: the *French* grew confident, that, after ſo many Condeſcenſions on the part of the *Engliſh*, they might obtain from them what they liſted, in the main of the Buſineſs. For, though it cannot otherwiſe be, but that in all Treaties of this Nature, there muſt be ſome Condeſcendings made by the one, or the other: yet he, that yields the firſt inch of Ground, gives the other Party a ſtrong Hope of obtaining the reſt.

Theſe Preparations being made, the *Commissioners*, on both ſides, begin the Treaty: where, after ſome Expoſtulations, touching the Juſtice, or Injuſtice of the War, on either ſide, they came to particular Demands. The *Engliſh* required the payment of all Debts, and Penſions, concluded on between the two Kings deceased: and, that the Queen of *Scots* ſhould either be delivered to their Hands, or ſent back to Her Kingdom. But unto this the *French* replied; That the Queen of *Scots* was deſigned in Marriage to the *Danſphin of France*: and, that ſhe looked upon it, as an high Diſhonour, that their King ſhould be eſteemed a Penſioner, or Tributary to the Crown of *England*. The *French*, on the other ſide, propounded: That, all Arrears of Debts, and Penſions, being thrown aſide, as not likely to be ever paid, they ſhould either put the higher Price on the Town of *Bulloign*; or elſe prepare themſelves to keep it, as well as they could. From which Propoſals when the *French* could not be removed, the Oracle was again conſulted: by whoſe Direction, it was ordered in the Council of *England*; That the *Commissioners* ſhould conclude the Peace, upon ſuch

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articles, and Instructions, as were sent unto them: Most of them ordinary, and accustomed, at the winding up of all such Treaties. But that of most Concernment was; That, all Titles, and Claims on the one side, and Defences on the other, remaining to either Party, as they were before, the Town of Bulloign, with all the Ordinance found there at the taking of it, should be delivered to the French, for the Sum of four hundred thousand Crowns of the Sun. Of which four hundred thousand Crowns, (each Crown being valued at the Price of six Shillings, and six Pence,) one Moiety was to be paid, within three days after the Town should be delivered, and the other at the end of six Moneths after; Hostages to be given in the mean time for the payment of it. It was agreed also, in relation to the Realm of Scotland; That, if the Scots razed Lowder, and Dowglass, the English should raze Rox-borough, and Aymouth; and no Fortification in any of those places to be afterwards made.

Which Agreement being signed by the Commissioners of each side, and Hostages mutually delivered for performance of Covenants, Peace was Proclaimed between the Kings on the last of *March*: and the Town of *Bulloign*, with all the Forts depending on it, delivered into the power of the French, on the twenty fifth day of *April*, then next following. But they must thank the Earl of *Warwick*, for letting them go away with that commodity at so cheap a Rate: for which the two last Kings had bargained for no less, then two Millions of the same Crowns, to be paid unto the King of *England*, at the end of eight years; the Towns, and Territory, in the mean time to remain with the *English*. Nor was young *Edward* backward in rewarding his Care, and Diligence, in expediting the Affair. Which was so represented to him, and the extraordinary Merit of the Service so highly magnified; that he was made *General Warden* of the *North*, gratified with a thousand Marks of good Rent in Land, and the Command of an hundred Horse-men at the King's Charge. Such is the Fortune of some Princes, to be most Bountifull to those, who are falsest to them. *Gundols* also was rewarded with Knighthood, a Present of a thousand Crowns, and an Annual Pension of as much, to maintain his Honour; besides a Pension of two hundred and fifty Crowns *per annum*, which was given to his Son. What Recompense he had of the Crown of *France* I have no where found; but have good Reason to believe, that he did not serve their Turn for nothing. Great Care was also taken, for the preventing of such Disorders, as the dissolving of great Garrisons, and the disbanding of Armies, do for the most part carry with them. And to this end the Lord *Clinton*, Governour of the Town, and Territory of *Bulloign*, was created Lord *Admiral*; the Officers, and Captains, rewarded with Lands, Leases, Offices, and Annual Pensions; all foreign Forces satisfied, and sent out of the Kingdom; the Common Souldiers, having all their Pay, and a Moneths-Pay over, dismissed into their several Countries, and great Charge given, that they should be very well observed, till they were quietly settled at home; the *Light-Horse-men*, and *Men-at-Arms*, put under the Command of the Marquess of *Northampton*, then being Captain of the Band of *Pensioners*; and finally some of the Chief Captains, with six hundred *Ordinaries*, disposed of on the Frontiers of *Scotland*.

All Things thus quieted at Home, and composed Abroad, in reference to the Civil State; we must next see how Matters went, which concerned Religion: all Parties making use of the Publick Peace for the advancing of their Private, and particular Ends. And the first Matter of Remark, which occurs this year, is the Burning of *Joan Butcher*, (by others called *Joan Knell*, but generally best known by the Name of *Joan of Kent*) condemned for Heresie in the year last past, about the time, that so many *Anabaptists* were converted in the Church of *Saint Paul*, before Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, and his Assistants: whereof mention hath been made already. Her Crime was, "That she denied *Christ* to have " taken Flesh from the Virgin *Mary*; affirming (as the *Valentinians* did of old) " that he onely passed through her Body, as Water through the Pipe of a Conduit

" duit, without participating any thing of that Body, through which He passed. *An. Reg. 4.*
Great Care was taken, and much Time spent, by the Arch-Bishop to persuade her to a better sense: but, when all failed, and that he was upon the Point of passing Sentence upon her, for persisting obstinate in so gross an Heresie, she most maliciously reproached him, for passing the like Sentence of Condemnation on another Woman, called *Ann Askew*, for denying the Carnal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament; telling him, That he had condemned the said *Ann Askew* not long before for a piece of Bread, and was then ready to condemn her for a piece of Flesh.

But being convicted, and delivered over to the Secular Judges, she was by them condemned to be burnt; but no Execution done upon it, till this present year. The Interval was spent in using all Means for her Conversion, and amendment; which as it onely seemed to confirm her in her former Obstinacy: so it was found to have given no small encouragement to others, for entertaining the like dangerous, and un-Christian Errours. His Majesty was therefore moved to sign the Warrant for her Death. To which when the Lords of the Council could by no means win Him: the Arch-Bishop is desired to persuade Him to it. The King continued both in Reason, and Resolution, as before He did, notwithstanding all the Arch-Bishop's Arguments to persuade the contrary: the King affirming, that He would not drive her headlong to the Devil, and thinking it better to chastise her with some corporal Punishment. But, when the Gravity, and Importunity of the Man had prevailed at last, the King told him, as He signed the Warrant, that upon him He would lay all the Charge thereof, before God. Which Words of His declare sufficiently His Averseness from having any hand in shedding of that Woman's Blood, how justly soever she deserved it. But that the Arch-Bishop's Earnestness, in bringing her to exemplary Punishment, should contract any such guilt in the sight of God, as to subject him to the like cruel Death, within few years after (as some would bear the World in hand) is a Surmise, not to be warranted by any Principle of Piety, or Rule of Charity. The Warrant being signed, and the Writ for Execution Sealed, she was kept a whole Week before her Death, at the Lord Chancellor's House, daily resorted to, both by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *London*; who spared no pains to bring her to a right belief in that Particular. But the same Spirit of Obstinacy still continued with her, and held her to the very last. For, being brought to the Stake in *Smithfield*, on the second of *May*, Dr. *Scory* (not long after made Bishop of *Rochester*) was desired to Preach unto the People; who insisting on the proof of that Point, for denial whereof the obstinate Wretch had been condemned, she interrupted him, and told him with a very loud Voice, that, *He lied like, &c.* And so, the Sermon being ended, the Executioner was commanded to do his Office, which he did accordingly. And yet this terrible Execution did not so prevail, as to extirpate, and exterminate the like impious Dotages; though it suppressed them for a time. For, on the twenty fourth of *April*, in the year next following, I finde one *George Paris*, a Dutch man, to have been burnt for *Arianism* in the very same place.

Better Success had *John à Lasco*, a *Polonian* born, with his Congregation of *German*, and other Strangers, who took Sanctuary this year in *England*; hoping, that here they might enjoy that Liberty of Conscience, and Safety for their Goods, and Persons, which their own Countrey had denied them. Nor did they fall short in any thing, which their Hopes had promised them. For the Lords of the Council looking on them, as afflicted Strangers, and persecuted for the same Religion, which was here professed, interceded for them with the King. And He as Graciously vouchsafed to give them, both Entertainment, and Protection; assigned them the West-part of the Church, belonging to the late dissolved House of *Augustine Friars*, for the Exercise of Religious Duties: made them a Corporation, consisting of a *Superintendent*, and four other Ministers: with power, to fill the vacant Places by a new Succession, whensoever

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1550.
 any of them should be void by Death, or otherwise, the Parties by them chosen to be approved by the King, and Council. And this he did, with a Command to the Lord Mayor of London, the *Aldermen*, and *Sheriffs* thereof; as also to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and all other Bishops of this Realm, not to disturb them, either in the Free Exercise of their Religion, and Ecclesiastical Government; notwithstanding, that they differed from the Government, and Forms of Worship, Established in the Church of *England*. All which, and more, He grants by His *Letters Patents*, bearing Date at *Leez* (the Lord Chancellor's House) on the twenty fourth of *July*, and the fourth year of His Reign. Which Grant, though in it self an Act of most Princely Compassion, in respect of those Strangers, yet proved the occasion of no small disturbance to the Proceedings of the Church, and the quiet ordering of the State; for, by suffering these men, to live under another kind of Government, and to Worship God after other Forms, then those allowed of by the Laws, proved in effect the setting up of one *Altar* against another in the midst of the Church, and the erecting of a Common-Wealth in the midst of the Kingdom. So much the more unfortunately permitted in this present Conjunction, when such a Rupture began to appear amongst our selves, as was made wider by the coming in of these *Dutch Reformers*, and the Indulgence granted to them: as will appear by the following Story of *John Hooper*, designed to the Bishoprick of *Glocester*; which in brief was this.

John Hooper, the designed Bishop of *Clocester*, being bred in *Oxford*, studious in the *Holy Scriptures*, and well-affecting unto those Beginnings of the Reformation, which had been countenanced by King *Henry*, about the time of the *Six Articles*, found himself so much in danger, as put upon him the necessity of forsaking the Kingdom. Settling himself at *Zurich*, a Town of *Switzerland*, he acquaints himself with *Bullinger*, a Scholar, in those Times, of great Name, and Note: and, having staid there, till the Death of King *Henry*, he returned into *England*; bringing with him some very strong Affections to the Nakedness of the *Zuinglian*, or *Helvetian Churches*: though differing in Opinion from them in some Points of Doctrine; and more especially in that of Predestination. In *England*, by his constant Preaching, and learned Writings, he grew into great Favour, and Esteem, with the Earl of *Warwick*; by whose procurement, the King most Graciously bestowed upon him, without any seeking of his own, the Bishoprick of *Glocester*; which was then newly void, by the Death of *Walsman*, the last Abbot of *Tewkesbury*, and the first Bishop of that See. Having received the King's *Letters Patents* for his Preferment to that Place, he applies himself to the Arch-Bishop for his Consecration: concerning which there grew a difference between them. For the Arch-Bishop would not Consecrate him; but in such an Habit, which Bishops were required to wear by the Rules of the Church: and *Hooper* would not take it, upon such Conditions. Repairing to his Patron, the Earl of *Warwick*, he obtains from him a Letter to the Arch-Bishop; desiring a forbearance of those things, in which the Lord *Elect* of *Glocester* did crave to be forborne at his hands; implying also, that it was the King's desire, as well as his, that such forbearance should be used. It was desired also, that he would not charge him with any Oath, which seemed to be burthenous to his Conscience. For the *Elect Bishop*, as it seems, had boggled also at the Oath of paying Canonical Obedience to his Metropolitan; which by the Laws, then, and still in force, he was bound to take. But the Arch-Bishop still persisting in the Denial, and being well seconded by Bishop *Ridley* of *London*, (who would by no means yield unto it) the King himself was put upon the business by the Earl of *Warwick*; who thereupon wrote to the Arch-Bishop this ensuing Letter.

Right

Right-Reverend Father, and Right-Trusty, and Well-Beloved, We Greet you well. Whereas We, by the Advice of Our Council, have Chosen, and Chosen Our Right-Well-Beloved, and Well-Worthy, Mr. John Hooper, Professor of Divinity, to be Our Bishop of Gloucester: as well for his Great Learning, Deep Judgment, and Long Study, both in the Scriptures, and other Profound Learning; as also for his Good Discretion, Ready Utterance, and Honest Life for that kind of Vocation, &c. From Consecrating of whom We understand you do stay, because he would have you omit, and let pass certain Rights, and Ceremonies, offensive to his Conscience, whereby you think you should fall in Præmunice of Our Laws: We have thought Good, by Advice afore-said, to dispence, and discharge you of all manner of Dangers, Penalties, and Forfeitures, you should run into, and be in, in any manner of Way, by omitting any of the same. And this Our Letters shall be your sufficient Warrant, and Discharge therefore.

An. Reg. 4.
1550.

Given under Our Signet, at Our Castle of
Windsore, the fifth day of August, in
the fourth year of Our Reign.

This Gracious Letter notwithstanding, the two Bishops, wisely taking into consideration, of what Danger, and Ill Consequence, the Example was, humbly craved leave, not to obey the King against his Laws: and the Earl, finding little hope of prevailing in that suit, which would not be granted to the King, leaves the new Bishop to himself; who, still persisting in his Obstinacy, and wilfull Humour, was finally for his Disobedience, and Contempt, committed Prisoner; and, from the Prison, writes his Letters to Martin Bucer, and Peter Martyr, for their Opinion in the Case. From the last of which, who had declared himself no friend to the English Ceremonies, he might presume of some Encouragement; but, that he had any from the first, I have no where found. The contrary whereunto will appear by his Answer unto John à Lasco, in the present Case; whereof more anon.

In which condition of Affairs, Calvin addresseth his Letters to the Lord Protector, whom he desireth to lend the man an (*) helping hand, and extricate him out of those Perplexities, into which he was cast. So that, at last, the Differences were thus compromised; that is to say, That Hooper should receive his Consecration, attired in his Episcopal Robes; that he should be dispensed with, all, from wearing it at ordinary times, as his daily Habit: but that he should be bound to use it, whensoever he Preached before the King, in his own Cathedral, or any other place of like Publick Nature. According to which Agreement, being appointed to Preach before the King, he shewed himself apparelled in his Bishop's Robes: namely, a long Scarlet Chimere, reaching down to the ground, for his upper Garment, (changed in Queen Elizabeth's Time, to one of Black Satten) and under that a white Linen Rochet, with a Square Cap upon his head; which Fox reproacheth by the name of a Popish Attire, and makes to be a great cause of Shame, and Contumelie, to that Godly man. And possibly it might be thought so, at that time, by Hooper himself; who from thenceforth carried a strong Grudge against Bishop Ridley, the principal man, as he conceived, (and that not untruly) who had held him up so closely to such hard Conditions: not fully reconciled unto him, till they were both ready for the Stake; and then it was high time to lay aside those Animosities, which they had hereupon conceived one against another. But these things happened not, (I mean

(*) Homi-
nem hortatus
sum; ut Hop-
per Petri Manum
Parrigeret.

An. Reg. 4.° his Consecration, and his Preaching before the King) till *March* next following; and then we may hear further of him.

1550.



And thus we have the first beginning of that Opposition, which hath continued ever since against the *Liturgie* it self, the *Cap*, and *Surplice*, and other *Rites*, and *Usages* of the *Anglican Church*.

Which Differences, being thus begun, were both fomented, and increased, by the Pragmaticallness of *John à Lasco*, Opposite, both in Government, and Forms of Worship, (if not perhaps in Doctrine also) to the Church of *England*. For *John à Lasco*, not content to enjoy those Privileges, which were intended for the use of those Strangers onely, so far abused His Majestie's goodness, as to appear in favour of the *Zuinglian*, or *Calvinian* Faction, which then began more openly to shew it self, against the Orders of the Church. For, first, he publisheth a Book, entituled, *Forma, & ratio totius Ecclesiastici Ministerii*: Wherein he maintains the Use of *Sitting at the Holy Communion*; contrary to the Laudable Custome of the Church of *England*, but much to the Encouragement of all those, who impugned her Orders. A Controversie, unhappily moved by Bishop *Hooper*, concerning the Episcopal Habit, was presently propagated amongst the rest of the Clergy, touching *Caps*, and *Surplices*. And in this Quarrel *John à Lasco* must needs be one: not onely countenancing those, who refused to wear them; but writing unto *Martin Bucer*, to declare against them For which severely reprehended by that Moderate and Learned Man, and all his Cavils, and Objections very solidly Answered; which being sent to him, in the way of Letter, was afterwards Printed, and dispersed, for keeping down that Opposite Humour, which began then to overswell the Banks, and threatened to bear all before it. And by this Passage we may rectifie a Mistake, or a Calumny rather, in the *Altare Damascenum*. The Authour whereof makes *Martin Bucer* Peremptory, in refusing to wear the *Square Cap*, when he lived in *Cambridge*; and to give this simple Reason for it; *That he could not wear a Square Cap, since his Head was Round*. But I note this onely by the way, to shew the Honesty of those men, which erected that *Altar*: and return again to *John à Lasco*; who, being born in *Poland*, where *Sitting* at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper had been used by the *Arians*; (who looking no otherwise on *Christ*, then their Elder Brother, might think it was no *Robbery* at all to be equal with Him; and sit down with Him at His Table) what he learned there, he desired might be Practiced here, the better to conform this Church to the *Polish* Conventicles.

As for the other Controversie about *Caps*, and *Surplices*; though it found no Encouragement from *Martin Bucer*; yet it received no small countenance from *Peter Martyr*. For in a Letter of his, of the first of *July*, inscribed Unto a nameless Friend, who had desired his Judgement in it, he first declares, according to the very Truth; *That, being indifferent in themselves, they could make no man, of themselves, to be either Godly, or Ungodly, by the use, or forbearance of them*: but then he addeth, *That, (*) He thinks it most Expedient to the Good of the Church; that they, and all others of that kind, should be taken away, when the next convenient Opportunity should present it self*. And then he gives this Reason for it: *That, where such Ceremonies were so stily contended for, which were not Warranted, and supported, by the Word of God; there commonly men were less solicitous of the Substance of Religion, then they were of the Circumstances of it*. But he might well have spared his Judgement, which had so visibly appeared in his dayly Practice. For he hath told us of himself, (in one of his *Epistles*, bearing Date at *Zurick*, the fourth of *November*, 1559. being more then five years, after he had left this Kingdom;) *That, (*) He had never used the Surplice, when he lived in Oxford; though he were then a Canon of Christ Church, and frequently present in the Quire*. So that, between the Authority of *Peter Martyr* on the one side, and the Pragmaticallness of *John à Lasco* on the other, many were drawn from their Obedience to the Rules of the Church, for the time then

(*) Magis expedit judicio; ut ex vestitis, & aliis, id genus, plura, cum fieri commode possit, auferantur, &c.

(*) Ego, cum essem Oxonii, vestitus illis albis, in Choro nunquam uti solvi; quamvis essem Canonicus.

then present, and a ground laid for more Confusions, and Disturbances in the time to come. An. Reg. 4.
1550.

The Regular Clergy, in those days, appeared not, commonly, out of their own Houses; but in their Priests Coats, with the Square Cap upon their Heads; and, if they were of Note, and Eminency, in their Gowns, and Tippets. This Habit also is decryed for Superstitious; affirmed to be a *Popish Attire*, and altogether as unfit for Ministers of the Holy Gospel, as the *Chimere*, and *Rochet*, were for those; who claimed to be the Successours of the Lord's Apostles. So *Tyms* replied unto Bishop Gardiner, when, being asked, *Whether a Coat, with Stockings of diverse Colours, the upper part White, and the nether Stock Russet*, (in which Habit he appeared before him) were a fit Apparel for a Deacon: (which Office he had exercised in this Church) he sawcily made Answer, *That his Vesture did not so much vary from a Deacon's, as his Lordships did from that of an Apostle*. The less to be admired in *Tyms*, in that I finde the like averiness from that Grave, and Decent Habit, in some other men: who were in Parts and Place above him. For, while this Controversie was on Foot, between the Bishops and Clergy, about wearing *Priests-Caps*, and other Attire, belonging to their Holy Order, Mr. John Rogers, one of the Prebends of Saint Paul's, and Divinity-Reader of that Church, then newly returned from beyond the Seas, could never be perswaded to wear any other, then the Round Cap, when he went abroad. And, being further pressed unto it, he declared himself thus, *That he would never agree to the point of Conformity: but on this Condition; that, if the Bishops did require the Cap, and Tippet, &c. then it should also be decreed, that all Popish Priests (for a Distinction between them, and others) should be constrained to wear upon their Sleeves a Chalice, with an Host upon it*. The like averiness is by some alcribed also to Mr. John Philpot, Arch-Deacon of Winchester, not long before returned from beyond the Seas, as the other was, and suffering for Religion in Queen Marie's Days, as the other did. Who, being by his place a Member of the Convocation, in the first of Queen Mary, and required by the Prolocutour to come apparelled, like the rest, in his Gown and Tippet, or otherwise to forbeare the Houle, chose rather to accept of the last Condition, then to submit unto the former. But there was some thing else in the first Condition, which made him unwilling to accept it, and that was, *That He must not speak, but when he was commanded by the Prolocutour*. Which being so directly against the Customes of the Houle, and the Privileges of each Member of it, he had good reason, rather to forbeare his Presence; then to submit himself, and consequently all the rest of the Members, to so great a Servitude.

Such were the Effects of Calvin's Interposings in behalf of Hooper; and such the Effects of his Exceptions against some Antient Usages in the Publick Liturgie; and such the Consequents of the Indulgence granted to John a Lasco, and his Church of Strangers, opposite, both in Practice, and point of Judgment, to the established Rules, and Orders of the Church of England. For what did follow hereupon, but a continual multiplying of Disorders in all Parts of this Church? What from the Sitting at the Sacrament, used, and maintained by John a Lasco: but first Irreverence in receiving, and afterwards a Contempt and depraving of it? What from the crying down of the Sacred Vestments, and the Grave Habit of the Clergy: but first a Disesteem of the men themselves, and by Degrees a Vilifying and Contempt of their Holy Ministry? Nay, such a peccancy of Humour began then manifestly to break out; that it was Preached at Paul's Crois by one Sir Steven, (for so they commonly called such of the Clergy, as were under the Degree of Doctour) the Curate of Saint Katharine-Christ Church, That, it was fit the Names of Churches should be altered, and the Names of the Days in the Week changed; That Fish-days should be kept on any other days, then on Fridays, and Saturdays, and the Lent at any other time, except onely between Shrove tide, and Easter. We are told also by John Stow, that he had seen the said Sir Steven to leave the Pulpit, and Preach to the People

An. Reg. 4. ple out of an high *Elm*, which stood in the midst of the *Church-Tard*; and
 1550. that being done, to return into the *Church* again; and, leaving the *High Altar*;
 to sing the *Communion-Service* upon a Tomb of the Dead, with his Face to-
 ward the North. Which is to be Observed the rather; because Sir *Stephen* hath
 found so many Followers in these later Times. For, as some of the Preciser sort
 have left the *Church*, to Preach in *Woods*, and *Barns*, &c. and, in stead of the
 Names of the Old Days, and Moneths, can finde no other Title for them, then
 the *First*, *Second*, or *Third Moneth of the Year*, and the *First*, *Second*, or
Third Day of the Week, &c. so was it propounded, not long since, by some
State-Reformers: That the Lenten-Fast should be kept no longer, between Shrove-
 tide and Easter; but rather (by some Act or Ordinance, to be made for that purpose)
 betwixt Easter and Whitsuntide. To such wild Fancies do men grow, when
 once they break those Bonds, and neglect those Rules, which wise Antiquity or-
 dained, for the preservation of Peace, and Order.

If it be asked, *What, in the mean time, was become of the Bishops*, and, *why no*
Care was taken for the purging of these Peccant Humours: It may be Answered;
 That the Wings of their Authority had been so clipped, that it was scarce able to
 fly abroad: the Sentence of *Excommunication*, wherewith they formerly kept in
 Aw both Priest, and People, not having been in Use, and Practice, since the first of
 this King. Whether it were, that any Command was lay'd upon the Bishops;
 by which they were restrained from the Exercise of it: Or, that some other
 Course was in Agitation, for drawing the Cognizance of all *Ecclesiastical Cases*
 to the Courts at *Westminster*: Or, that it was thought inconsistent with that
Dreadful Sentence, to be issued in the King's Name: (as it had lately been ap-
 pointed by *All of Parliament*,) it is not easie to determine. Certain it is, that,
 at this Time, it was in an Abyeance, (as our *Lawyers* Phrase it) either Abolish-
 ed for the present, or of none Effect: not onely to the cherishing of these
 Disorders, amongst the *Ministers of the Church*, but to the great encrease of
 Viciousness in all sorts of Men. So that it was not without cause, that it was
 called for so earnestly by Bishop *Latimer*, in a *Sermon* Preached before the King;
 where he thus presseth for the Restitution of the Antient Discipline; *Lechery*
 (saith he) *is used in England, and such Lechery, as is used in no other Part of*
the World. And yet it is made a matter of Sport, a matter of Nothing, a
Laughing matter, a Trifle, not to be Passed on. nor Reformed. Well, I trust it will
be amended one day, and I hope to see it mended, as old as I am. And here I will
make a Suit to your Highness, to restore unto the Church the Discipline of Christ,
in Excommunicating such, as be notable Offenders. Nor, never devise any other
Way: for no man is able to devise any better, then that God hath done, with Ex-
communication to put them from the Congregation, till they be confounded. There-
fore Restore Christ's Discipline, for Excommunication: and that shall be a mean,
both to pacifie God's Wrath, and Indignation; and also, that lets Abomination
shall be used, then in Times past hath been, or is at this day. I speak this of a Con-
science, and I mean to move it, of a Will, to Your Grace, and Your Realm. Bring
into the Church of England, the Open Discipline of Excommunication; that
open Sinners may be stricken with all.

Nor were these all the Mischiefs, which the *Church* suffered at this Time.
 Many of the Nobility, and Gentry, which held *Abbey-Lands*, and were charged
 with *Pensions* to the *Monks*, out of a covetous Design to be freed of those
Pensions, or to discharge their Lands from those Incumbrances, which by that
 means were lay'd upon them, had placed them in such *Benefices*, as were in their
 Gifts. This filled the *Church* with ignorant and illiterate Priests: few of the
Monks being Learned beyond their *Mass-Book*, utterly unacquainted with the
Art of Preaching, and otherwise not well-affected to the *Reformation*. Of
 which Abuse, Complaint is made by *Calvin* to Arch-Bishop *Cramer*: and
Peter Martyr (*) much bemoaneth the miserable Condition of the *Church*,
 for want of *Preachers*; though he touch not at the Reasons, and Causes of it.

For

(*) Doleo plus
 quam dispo-
 est, tanta ubi-
 que in Anglia
 Ferbi Dei serva-
 ris laborari.
 E. 15. Julius I.
 1550.

For the remedy whereof (as Time, and Leasure would permit) it was Ordained, *An. Reg. 4.º*
by the Advice of the Lords of the Council; That, of the King's six *Chaplains*,
which attended in *Ordinary*, two of them should be always about the Court, *1550.*
and the other four should Travail in *Preaching* abroad. The first year, two in
Wales, and two in *Lincolnsire*; the second year, two in the *Marches* of *Scot-*
land, and two in *Yorkshire*; the third year, two in *Devonshire*, and two in *Hamp-*
shire; the fourth year, two in *Norfolk*, and two in *Essex*; the fifth year, two
in *Kent* and two in *Suffex*: and so throughout all the *Shires* in *England*. By which
means it was hoped, that the People might, in time, be well instructed in their
Duty to God, and their Obedience to the Laws: in which they had not
shewed themselves so forward; as, of right, they ought. But this Course be-
ing like to be long in running, and subject to more Heats and Colds, then the
nature of the Business could well comport with; the next care was, to fill the
Church with Abler, and more Orthodox Clerks, as the *Cures* fell void. And,
for an Example to the rest, it was Ordered; That none should be presented unto
any Benefice in the King's Donation; either as in the Right of His Crown, or by
Promotion, Wardship, Lapse, &c. till he had Preached before the King; and thereby
passed His Judgment, and Approbation. And it was much about this time, that *Ser-*
mons at the Court were increased also. For whereas formerly there were no *Ser-*
mons at the Court, but in time of *Lent*; and possibly on some few of the greater Fe-
stivals; in which respect six Chaplains were sufficient to attend in Ordinary: it
was now Ordered; That, from thenceforth, there should be *Sermons* every Sun-
day, for all such as were so disposed, to resort unto.

But the Great business of this Year was the taking down of *Altars*, in many
places, by the Publick Authority; which in some few had formerly been pulled
down, by the irregular forwardness of the Common People. The Principal
Motive whereunto was, in the first place, the Opinion of some few of the greater
had been taken by *Calvin*, against the *Liturgie*; and the desire of those of the
Zuinglian Faction, to reduce this Church unto the Nakedness, and Simplicity,
of those Transmarine Churches, which followed the *Helvetian*, or *Calvinian* Forms.
For the Advancement of which Work, it had been Preached by *Hooper*, above-
mentioned, before the King, about the beginning of this year; That, *it would*
be very well, that it might please the Magistrate, to turn the Altars into Tables:
according to the first Institution of Christ; and thereby to take away the false per-
sonation of the People, which they have of Sacrifices to be done upon the Altars.
Because (said he) as long as Altars remain, both the ignorant People, and the igno-
rant, and evil-perswaded Priest, will dream always of Sacrifice. This was e-
nough, to put the thoughts of the *Alteration* into the Head of some Great
Men about the Court, who thereby promised themselves no small Hopes of
Profit, by the disfurnishing of the *Altars* of the *Hangings*, *Palls*, *Plate*, and
other Rich *Utenfils*, which every *Parish*, more, or less, had provided for
them. And that this Consideration might prevail upon them, as much, as an-
y other, (if perhaps not more) may be collected from an Enquiry, made a-
bout two years after. In which, it was to be interrogated; *What Jewels of*
Gold, and Silver, or Silver Cresses, Candlesticks, Censers, Chalice, Cipes, and
other Vestments, were then remaining, in any of the Cathedral, or Parochial
Churches; or otherwise had been embazelled, or taken away: the leaving of one
Chalice to every Church, with a Cloath, or Covering, for the Communion-Table;
being thought sufficient.

The matter being thus resolved on, a Letter comes to Bishop *Ridley*, in the
name of the King, Signed with His Royal Signet, but Subscribed by *Summe-*
ser, and other of the Lords of the Council, concerning the taking down of *Alt-*
ars, and setting up *Tables* in the stead thereof. Which Letter, because it re-
lates to somewhat, which was done before, in some of the Churches, and
seems only to pretend to an Uniformity in all the rest, I shall here subjoyn;
that being the Chief Ground, on which so great an Alteration must be suppo-
sed

An. Reg. 4.^o fed to have been raised. Now the Tenour of the said Letter is, as followeth.

1550.

Right-Reverend Father in God, Right-Trusty, and Well-Belov'd; We Greet You Well: Whereas it is come to Our Knowledge; that being the Altars within the more part of the Churches of the Realm, upon Good and Godly Considerations, are taken down: there doth yet remain Altars, standing in divers other Churches; by occasion whereof much Variance, and Contention, ariseth amongst sundry of Our Subjects; which, if good Fore-sight were not had, might perhaps engender great Hurt, and Inconvenience: We let you wit; that, minding to have all Occasions of Contention taken away, which many times groweth by these, and such like Diversities; and considering, that, amongst other things, belonging to Our Royal Office and Cure, We do account the greatest to be, to maintain the common Quiet of Our Realm; We have thought Good, by the Advice of Our Council, to require You, and nevertheless especially to Charge, and Commaund You, for the avoiding of all matters of further Contention, and Strife about the standing, or taking away of the said Altars, to give substantial Order throughout all Your Diocess; that, with all Diligence, all the Altars, in every Church, or Chapel: as well in places Exempted, as not Exempted, within Your said Diocess, be taken down; and, in stead of them, a Table to be set up, in some convenient part of the Chancel, within every such Church, or Chapel, to serve for the Ministracion of the Blessed Communion. And, to the intent, the same may be done, without the Offence of such Our Loving Subjects, as be not, yet, so well perswaded in that behalf, as We could wish, We send unto You herewith certain Considerations, Gathered, and Collected, that make for the purpose. The which, and such others, as You shall think meet, to be set forth to perswade the weak, to embrace Our Proceedings in this part, We pray You cause to be declared to the People by some discreet Preachers, in such places, as You shall think meet, before the taking down of the said Altars: so, as both the weak Consciences of others may be instructed, and satisfied, as much as may be; and this Our Pleasure the more quietly Executed. For the better doing Whereof, We require You to open the fore-said Considerations, in that Our Cathedral Church, in Your own Person if You conveniently may; or, otherwise by Your Chancellor or other Grave Preacher, both thire, and in such other Market-Towns, and most Notable Places, of Your Diocess, as You may think most requisite.

Which Letter, bearing Date on the twenty fourth of November, in the fourth year of the King, was Subscribed by the Duke of Sommerset, the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Lord Admiral Clinton, the Earls of Warwick, Bedford, and Wiltshire; the Bishop of Ely, the Lords Wentworth, and North.

Now the Effect of the said Reasons, mentioned in the last part of this Letter, were; First, To move the People, from the Superstitious Opinions of the Popish Mass, unto the right Use of the Lord's Supper. The Use of an Altar being, to Sacrifice upon; and the Use of a Table, to Eat upon: and therefore a Table to be far more fit for Our feeding on Him, who was once onely Crucified, and Offered for us. Secondly, That, in the Book of Common-Prayer, the name of Altar, the Lord's Board, and Table, are used indifferently, without prescribing any thing in the Form thereof. For as it is called a Table, and the Lord's Board, in reference to the Lord's Supper, which is there Administred, so it is called an Altar also, in reference to the Sacrifice of Praise and Thanks-giving, which is there offered unto God. And so the changing the Altars into Tables, not to be any way repugnant to the Rules of the Liturgie. The third Reason seems to be

no

no other then an Illustration of the First, for taking away the superstitious Opinion out of the Minds of the People, touching the Sacrifice of the *Mass*, which was not to be Celebrated, but upon an *Altar*. The Fourth, That the *Altars* were Erected for the Sacrifices of the Law, which being now ceased, the Form of the *Altar* was to cease together with them. The Fifth, That, as *Christ* did Institute the Sacrament of his Body and Blood, at a *Table*, and not at an *Altar*, (as appeareth by the three *Evangelists*) so it is not to be found, that any of the Apostles did ever use an *Altar* in the Ministration. And finally; That, it is declared in the Preface to the *Book of Common-Prayer*, That, If any Doubt arise in the Use, and Practising, of the said Book, that then, to appeale all such Diversity, the Matter shall be referred unto the Bishop of the Diocess; who, by his Discretion, shall take Order for the quieting of it.

An. Reg. 4.
1550.

The Letter with these Reasons being brought to *Ridley*, there was no time for him to dispute the Commands of the one, or to examine the Validity, and Strength of the other. And thereupon, proceeding shortly after to his first *Visitation*, he gave out one Injunction, amongst others, to this Effect, That *Those Churches in his Diocess, where the Altars do remain, should conform themselves unto those other Churches, which had taken them down, and that, instead of the multitude of their Altars, they should set up one decent Table in every Church*. But this being done, a question afterwards did arise, about the Form of the *Lords Board*, some using it in the Form of a *Table*, and others in the Form of an *Altar*. Which being referred unto the Determination of the Bishop, he declared himself in favour of that *Posture*, or *Position* of it, which he conceived most likely to procure an Uniformity in all his Diocess, and to be more agreeable to the King's Godly Proceedings, in abolishing divers vain, and superstitious Opinions, about the *Mass*, out of the Hearts of the People. Upon which Declaration, or Determination, he appointed the Form of a Right Table, to be used in his Diocess; and caused the Wall standing on the back side of the *Altar*, in the Church of Saint *Pauls*, to be broken down, for an Example to the rest. And being thus a leading Cafe to all the rest of the Kingdom, it was followed, either with a swifter, or a slower Pace, according as the Bishops in their several Diocesses, or the Clergie in their several Parishes, stood affected to it. No Universal Change of *Altars* into *Tables*, in all parts of the Realm, till the Repealing of the First Liturgie, in which the Priest is appointed, To stand before the midst of the *Altar*, in the Celebration; and the establishing of the Second, in which it is required, That The Priest shall stand on the North-side of the Table, had put an end to the Dispute.

Nor, indeed, can it be supposed, that all, which is before affirmed of Bishop *Ridley*, could be done at once, or acted in so short a Space, as the rest of this year: which could not give him time enough, to Warn, Commence, and carry on a *Visitation*; admitting, that the Inconveniency of the Season might have been dispensed with. And therefore I should rather think, that the Bishop, having received His Majesty's Order in the end of November, might cause it to be put in Execution in the Churches of London, and Issue out his Mandates to the rest of the Bishops, and the Arch-Deacons of his own Diocess, for doing the like in other Places within the compass of their several and Respective Jurisdictions. Which being done, as in the way of Preparation, his *Visitation* might proceed in the Spring next following; and the whole Business be transacted, in Form, and Manner, as before laid down. And this may be believed the rather; because the changing of *Altars* into *Tables* is made by *Holinshed*, (*) (a Diligent and Painfull Writer) to be the Work of the next year: as, questionless it needs must be, in all Parts of the Realm; except London, and Westminster, and some of the Towns, and Villages, adjoining to them. But, much less can I think, that the *Altar-wall*, in Saint *Pauls* Church, was taken down by the Command of Bishop *Ridley*, in the Evening of Saint *Barnaby's* Day, this present year; as is affirmed by (*) *John Stow*. For then it must be done five Moneths, before

(*) Fol. 1062.

(*) Fol. 604.

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 the coming out of the *Order* from the *Lords* of the Council. Assuredly, Bishop *Ridley* was the Master of too great a Judgment, to run before Authority, in a Business of such Weight, and Moment. And he had also a more high Esteem of the *Blessed Sacrament*; then, by any such unadvised, and precipitate Action, to render it less Venerable in the Eyes of the Common People. Besides, whereas the taking down of the said *Altar-Wall* is said to have been done on the first Saint *Barnaby's-Day*, which was kept *Holy* with the *Church*: that Circumstance is alone sufficient, to give some Light to the Mistake. The *Liturgie*, which appointed Saint *Barnaby's-Day* to be kept for an *Holy-Day*, was to be put in Execution in all parts of the Realm, at the Feast of *Whitson-tide*, 1549. and had actually been Officiated in some Churches, for some Weeks before. So, that the first Saint *Barnaby's-Day*, which was to be kept *Holy* by the Rules of that *Liturgie*, must have been kept in that year also; and consequently the taking down of the said *Altar-Wall*, being done on the Evening of that day, must be supposed to have been done above ten Moneths, before Bishop *Ridley* was Translated to the See of *London*. Let therefore the keeping *Holy* of the first Saint *Barnaby's-Day* be placed in the year 1549, the Issuing of the *Order* from the *Lords* of the Council in the year 1550, and the taking down of the *Altar-Wall*, on the Evening of Saint *Barnaby's-Day*, in the year 1551. And then all Inconveniencies, and Contradictions, will be taken away, which otherwise cannot be avoided.

No change this year amongst the *Peers* of the Realm, or Principal Officers of the Court: but in the Death of *Thomas Lord Wriothesley*, the first Earl of *Southampton*, of that Name, and Family; who died at *Lincoln-Place*, in *Holborn*, on the thirtieth day of *July*: leaving his Son *Henry*, to succeed him in his Lands, and Honours. A Man Unfortunate in his Relations to the two Great Persons of that Time; deprived of the *Great Seal* by the Duke of *Somerset*; and removed from his Place at the Council-Table by the Earl of *Warwick*: having first served the Turns of the one, in lifting him into the Saddle; and of the other, in dismounting him from that High Estate. Nor finde I any great Change this year amongst the Bishops: but that Doctour *Nicholas Ridley*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, was Translated to the See of *London*, on the twelfth of *April*; and Doctour *John Poyner*, Consecrated Bishop of *Rocheſter*, on the twenty sixth of *June*. By which Account he must needs be the first Bishop, which received *Episcopal Consecration* according to the Form of the *English Ordinal*: as *Farrars* was the first, who was advanced, unto that Honour, by the King's *Letters Patents*. As for *Ridley*, we have spoke before; and as for *Poyner*, he is affirmed to have been a Man of very good Learning, with Reference to his Age, and the Time he lived in: well studied in the *Greek Tongue*, and of no small Eminence in the *Arts*, and *Mathematical Sciences*. A Change was also made in *Cambridge* by the Death of *Bucer*: which I finde placed, by *Fox*, on the twenty third of *December*; by others, with more Truth, on the nineteenth of *January* (both in the Compass of this year) and by some others, with less Reason, on the tenth of *March*. But, at what time soever he died, certain it is, that he was most Solemnly Interred in Saint *Mary's Church* attended to his Grave by all the *Heads*, and most of the *Graduates* in that *University*: his Funeral Sermon Preached by Doctour *Parker*, the first Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time: the *Panegyrick* made by one of the *Haddons*, a Man of a most Fluent, and Rhetorical Style: all that pretended to the *Musick*, in both *Universities*, setting forth his great Worth, and their own Loss in him, with the best of their *Poetry*.

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WE must begin this year with the *Deprivation* of Bishop Gardiner, whom we left committed to the *Tower* the last of *June* in the year 1548. There he remained almost two years, without being pressed to any particular Point: the yielding unto which might procure his Liberty: or the Refusal justifie such a long Imprisonment. On the tenth of *June*, this year the Publick *Liturgie*, now being generally executed in all Parts of the Kingdom, was offered to his Consideration; that some Experiment might be made, whether he would put his Hand unto it, and promise to advance the Service. Upon the fourth day after, the Duke of *Somerset*, with five other of the *Lords* of the Council, was sent unto the *Tower* to receive his Answer. Which he returned to this effect; *That he had deliberately considered of all the Offices contained in the Common-Prayer-Book, and all the several Branches of it: That, though he could not have made it, in that Manner, had the Matter been referred unto him; yet, that he found such things therein, as did very well satisfy his Conscience: and therefore that he would, not only execute it in his own Person; but cause the same to be Officiated by all those of his Diocess.* But this was not the Answer which the Courtiers looked for. It was their Hope, they should have found him more averie from the King's Proceedings; that, making a Report of his Perverseness, he might be lifted out of that Wealthy Bishoprick: which, if it either were kept Vacant, or filled with a more Tractable Person, might give them opportunity to enrich themselves by the Spoil thereof. Therefore to put him further to it, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *William Herbert*, Master of the Horse, and Mr. Secretary *Petre*, are sent upon the ninth of *July*, with certain Articles: which, for that end, were Signed by the King, and the *Lords* of the Council. According to the Tenour hereof, he was not onely to testifie his Consent to the Establishing of the *Holy-Days*, and *Fasting-Days*, by the King's Authority, the Allowance of the Publick *Liturgie*, and the Abrogating of the *Statute* for the Six Articles, &c. but to Subscribe to the Confession of his Fault in his former Obstinacy, after such Form and Manner, as was there required. To which Articles he Subscribed without any great Hesitancy: but refused to put his Hand to the said Confession; *There being no reason*, (as he thought;) and so he answered those, which came unto him from the Court on the Morrow after) *that he should yield to the Confession of a Guilt, when he knew himself Innocent.*

He is now fallen into the Toil, out of which he finds but Little Hope of being set free. For presently, on the neck of this, a Book of Articles is drawn up, containing all the Alteration made by the King, and His Father, as well by Acts of Parliament, as their own Injunctions, from the first Suppression of the Monasteries, to the coming out of the late Form for the Consecration of Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. Of all which Doings he is required to signify his Approbation, to make Confession of his Fault, with an Acknowledgment, that he had deserved the Punishment, which was laid upon him. Which Articles (being tendered to him by the Bishop of *London*, the Master of the Horse, Mr. Secretary *Petre*, and Goodrick, a Counsellour at Law) appeared to him, to be of such an hard Digestion: that he desired first to be set at Liberty, before he should be pressed to make a particular Answer. This being taken for a Refusal, and that Refusal taken for a Contempt: the Profits of his Bishoprick are Sequestered from him, for three Moneths, by an Order of the Council-Table, bearing date the nineteenth of the Moneth, the said Profits, in the mean time, to be collected, or received, by such Person, or Persons, as the King should thereunto appoint: with this Intimation in the Close; that if he did not tender his Submission, at the end of that Term, he should be taken for an Incorrigible Person, and meet Minister of this Church, and, Finally to be proceeded against to a Deprivation.

An. Reg. 5^{on}. The Term expired, and no such humble *Submission*, or *Acknowledgment*, made, as had been required at his Hands; a *Commission* is directed to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Lincoln*, Sir *William Peter*, &c. authorised thereby to proceed against him, upon certain *Articles* in the same contained. Convented before whom at *Lambeth*, on the fifteenth of *December*, he received his Charge. Which being received, he used so many Shifts, and found so many Evasions to elude the Business; that, having appeared six Days before them, without coming to a plain and Positive Answer, he was, upon the fourteenth of *February*, Sentenced to a *Deprivation*, and so remitted to the Tower. But *Gardiner* did not mean to die so tamely, and therefore had no sooner heard the *Definitive Sentence*; but presently he *Protesteth* against the same, makes his Appeal unto the King; and causeth both his said Appeal, and *Protestation*, to be Registered in the *Acts* of that Court. Of all which he will finde a time to serve himself, in the Alteration of Affairs.

It was presumed, that the Report of this Severity against a Man, so eminent for his Parts and Place, would either bring such other Bishops, as had yet stood out, to a fit Conformity; or otherwise expose both them, and their Estates, to the like Condemnation. But some there were, so stiff in their old Opinions: that neither Terror, nor Persuasion, could prevail upon them; either to give their Approbation of the King's Proceedings; or otherwise to advance the Service. And some there were; who, though they outwardly complied with the King's Commands, yet was it done so coldly, and with such Reluctancy, as laid them open to the Spoil, though not to the Loss, of their Bishopricks. Of which last Sort were, *Kitching* Bishop of *Landaff*, *Salcot* (otherwise called *Capon*) Bishop of *Salisbury*, and *Sampson* of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*. Of which, the last, to keep his ground, was willing to sing up a great part of his Lands; and, out of those, which either belonged unto his See, or the *Dean* and *Chapter*, to raise a *Baron's* Estate (and the Title of the *Baronie* too) for Sir *William Paget*, not born to any such fair Fortunes, as he thus acquired. *Salcot* of *Salisbury*, knowing himself obnoxious to some Court-Displeasures, redeems his Peace, and keeps himself out of such Danger, by making long Leases of the best of his Farms and Manours; known afterwards most commonly by the Name of *Capon's Feathers*. But none of them more miserably Dilapidated the Patrimony of his See, then Bishop *Kitching* of *Landaff*. A Church so liberally endowed by the Munificence, and Piety, of some Great Persons in those Times; that if it were possessed but of a tenth Part of what once it had, it might be reckoned (as is affirmed by Bishop *Godwine*, one of *Kitching's* Successours) amongst the Richest Churches in these Parts of *Christendom*. But whatsoever *Kitching* found it, it was made poor enough, before he left it: so poor, that it is hardly able to keep the Pot boiling for a *Parson's* Dinner.

Of the first Rank, I reckon *Vossie* of *Exeter*, *Heath* of *Worcester*, and *Day* of *Chichester*; for the Province of *Canterbury*: together with Bishop *Tonstal* of *Durham*, in the Province of *York*. The first, once Governour to the Princess *Mary*, Preferred afterwards, by King *Henry*, to the Lord-President-ship of *Wales*, and the See of *Exeter*. Which See he found possessed, at his coming to it, of twenty two goodly Manours, and fourteen Mansion-Houses, Richly furnished. But the Man neither could approve the Proceedings of the King in the Reformation; nor cared, in that respect, to Preserve the Patrimony of the Church, for those, who might differ in Opinion from him. And being set upon the Pin, he made such Havock of his Lands, before he was brought under a *Deprivation*: that he left, but seven or eight of the worst Manours, and those let out into long Leases, and charged with *Pensions*; and not above two Houses, both bare and naked. Having lost so much Footing within his Diocese, it is no marvel, if he could no longer keep his Standing. For, being found an open Hinderer of the Work in hand, and secretly to have fomented the Rebellion of the *Devonshire* Men, in the year 1549. he either was deprived

deprived of, or (as some say) resigned his Bishoprick, within few Moneths after the Sentence passed on Gardiner: but lived to be restored again, (as Gardiner also was) in the Time of Queen Mary. Of Day, and Heath, I have nothing to remember more particularly, but, that they were both Deprived on the tenth of October, and lived both to a Restitution in Queen Marie's Reign: Heath, in the mean time, being Liberally, and Lovingly entertained by the Bishop of London, and afterwards Preferred to the Arch-Bishoprick of York, and made Lord Chancellor of England. Nor shall I now say more of Tonstal; but, that, being cast into the Tower on the twentieth day of December, he was there kept, untill the Dissolution of his Bishoprick by Act of Parliament: of which we shall speak more at large, in its proper place.

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We must not leave these Churches vacant; considering, that it was not long, before they were supplied with new Incumbents. To Gardiner, in the See of Winton, succeeded Doctor John Poynt, Bishop of Rochester: a better Scholar then a Bishop; and purposely Preferred to that Wealthy Bishoprick, to serve other Mens Turns. For, before he was well warm in his See, he dismembred from it the Goodly Palace of Marwel, with the Manours and Parks, of Marwel and Twisford, which had before been seised upon by the Lord Protector, to make a Knight's Estate for Sir Henry Seimour, as before was signified. The Palace of Waltham, with the Park and Manour belonging to it, and some good Farms depending on it, were seised into the hands of the Lord Treasurer Pawlet, Earl of Wiltshire: who, having got into possession of such Lands of the Bishoprick, conceived himself in a fit Capacity to affect (as shortly after he obtained) the Title of Lord Marques of Winchester. But this, with many of the rest of Poynt's Grants, Leases, and Alienations, were again recovered to the Church, by the Power of Gardiner; when, being restored unto his See, he was by Queen Mary made Lord Chancellor. To Vossie, in the See of Exeter, succeeded Doctor Miles Coverdale: one, who had formerly assisted Tyndal, in Translating the Bible into English, and, for the most part, lived at Tubing, an University belonging to the Duke of Saxonie; where he received the Degree of Doctor. Returning into England, in the first year of King Edward, and growing into great Esteem, for Piety, and Diligent Preaching, he was Consecrated Bishop of this Church, the thirtieth of August: the Bones whereof were so clean picked, that he could not easily leave them with less Flesh, then he found upon them. Nor have we more to say of Scory, who succeeded Day: but, that, being Consecrated Bishop of Rochester, in the place of Poynt, on the thirtieth of August also, he succeeded Day, at Chichester, in the year next following. Of which Bishoprick he was deprived of, in the Time of Queen Mary; and afterwards preferred by Queen Elizabeth to the See of Hereford, in which place he dyed. To Heath, at Worcester, no Successour was at all appointed: that Bishoprick being given in Commendam to Bishop Hooper; who, having been Consecrated Bishop of Gloucester on the eighth of March, was made the Commendatory of this See: to which he could not legally be Translated (as the Case then stood) both Latimer, and Heath being still alive, and both reputed Bishops of it, by their several Parties. And here we have a strange Conversion of Affairs: for whereas heretofore, the County of Gloucester was a part of the Diocels of Worcester, out of which it was taken by King Henry, when first made a Bishoprick; the Diocels of Worcester was now lay'd to the See of Gloucester. Not, that I think, that Hooper was suffered to enjoy the Temporal Patrimony of that Wealthy Bishoprick: but that he was to exercise the Jurisdiction, and Episcopality, with some short Allowance for his Pains. The Pyrates of the Court were too intent on all Advantages, to let such a Vessel pass untouched; in which they might both finde enough to enrich themselves, and yet leave that, which was sufficient to content the Merchants. And this perhaps may be one Reason, why Latimer was not restored unto his Bishoprick, upon this Avoynce: not in regard of any sensible Dislike, which was taken at him by the Court, for his down-right Preaching

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But, notwithstanding the Remove of so many Bishops, there still remained one Rub in the Way; which did as much retard the Progreſs of the *Reformation*, as any of the rest, if not altogether. The Princess *Mary*, having been bred up, from Her Infancy, in the *Romish* Religion, could not be won, by any Arguments, and persuasions, to change Her Minde, or permit that any Alteration should be made in those Publick Offices; to which She had so long been used. The King had writ many *Letters* to Her, in hope to take Her off from those Affections, which She carried to the Church of *Rome*. The like done also by the *Lords* of the Council, and with like Success. For, besides that She conceived Her Judgment built on so good a Foundation, as could not easily be subverted; there were some Politick Considerations: which possibly might prevail more with Her, then all other Arguments. She was not to be told, That, by the Religion of the *Protestants*, Her Mother's Marriage was Condemned; That by the same She was declared to be Illegitimate; and Consequently, made incapable to succeed in the Crown, in Case She should survive Her Brother. All which She must acknowledge, to be legally and justly determined. Upon these Grounds, She holds Her self to Her first Resolution, keeps up the *Mas*s, with all the *Rites*, and *Ceremonies* belonging to it, and suffers divers Persons, besides her own Domestick Servants, to be present at it. The *Emperour* had so far mediated in Her behalf, that Her *Chaplains* were permitted to Celebrate the *Mas*s in Her Presence: but with this Caution and Restriction; That, they should Celebrate the same in Her Presence onely. For the transgressing of which Bounds, *Mallet*, and *Barkley*, Her two *Chaplains* were Committed Prisoners, in *December* last: of which She makes Complaint to the *Lords* of the Council; but finds as cold Return from Them, as they did from Her.

A Plot is thereupon contrived: for conveying Her out of the Realm by Stealth; to transport Her from *Essex*, where She then lay, to the *Court* of the Queen *Regent* in *Flanders*; some of Her Servants sent before, *Flemish* Ships ready to receive Her, and a Commotion to be raised in that County; that in the Heat, and Tumult of it She might make Her Escape. The King is secretly advertised of this Design, and presently dispatcheth certain Forces under Sir *John Gates*, then newly made *Lieutenant* of the Band of *Pensioners*, to prevent the Practice, secures His Coasts, orders His Ships to be in Readiness, and speeds away the Lord Chancellour *Rich*, with Sir *William Peter*, to bring the Princess to the Court. Which being effected at the last, though not without extream Unwillingness on Her part to begin the Journey; *Inglesfield*, *Walgrave*, and *Rocheſter*, being all of Princ pall place about Her, on the thirtieth of *October*, were committed to Custody; which adds a new Affliction to Her, but there was no Remedy. The *Lords* of the Council being commanded by the King to attend upon Her,

Her, declared in the name of His Highness, how long He had permitted Her the Mass; that, finding how unmoveable she was from Her former Courses, He resolved not to endure it longer, unless He might perceive some hope of Her Conformity, within short time after. To which the *Princess* Answered; That Her Soul was Gods; and for Her Faith, that as She could not change, so She would not d'ssemble it. The Council thereunto rejoyn; That the King intended not to Constrain Her Faith; but to restrain Her in the outward Profession of it: in regard of those many dangers, and inconveniences, which might ensue on the Example. Which interchange of words being passed, She is appointed, for the present, to remain with the King: but neither *Mallet*, nor any other of Her Chaplains, permitted to have speech with Her, or access unto Her.

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The *Emperour*, being certified how all things passed, sends an Ambassadour to the King, with a Threatning Message: even to the Denouncing of a War; in case his Cousin, the *Princess Mary*, were not permitted to enjoy the exercise of Her own Religion. To Gratifie whom in His desires, the *Lords* of the Council generally seemed to be very inclinable; they well considered of the Prejudice, which must fall upon the *English* Merchants, if they should lose their Trade in *Flanders*, where they had a whole year's cloth, beside other Goods. And they knew well, what inconvenience must befall the King, who had there 500. Quintals of Powder, and good store of Armour; which would be seized into the *Emperour's* hands, and employed against Him, if any Breach should grow between them. The King is therefore moved, with the joynt Consent of the whole Board, to grant the *Emperour's* Request: and to dispence with the utmost Rigour of the Law, in that particular; for fear of drawing upon Himself a greater mischief. But they found Him so well Studied in the Grounds and Principles of His Religion; that no Consideration, drawn from any Reason of State, could induce Him to it. It was thereupon thought fit, to send the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *London*, being both Members of that Body, to try what they could do upon Him, in the way of Argument. By them, the Point being brought unto such an Issue, as might give them some hopes of being admitted, it was Propounded to Him, as their Opinion, (after some Progress made in the Disputation,) that, Though it were a sin, to give Licence to sin; yet a connivance of it might be allowed: in case it neither were too long, nor without some probable hope of a Reformation. With which Nicety the young King was so unsatisfied, that he declared a Resolution, rather to venture Life, and all things else, which were dear unto Him: then to give way to any thing, which He knew to be against the Truth. Upon which words, the King expressed His inward Trouble by a flood of Tears; and the Bishops, on the sight thereof, wept as fast as He: the King conceiving Himself wronged, in being so unreasonably pressed; and the Bishops thinking themselves neglected, because unseasonably denied. Thus stood they silent for a time: each Party looking sadly on the apprehension of those Extremities, which this Dispute had brought upon them: as certainly, the Picture of Unkindness is never represented in more lively Colours; then when it breaks out betwixt those, who are most tenderly affected unto one another. The Bishops thereupon withdrew, admiring at such great Abilities in so young a King; and magnified the Name of God, for giving them a Prince of such Eminent Piety.

This being made known unto the Council, it was thought necessary to dismiss the *Emperour's* Ambassadour with such an Answer; as should both give the *English* time to fetch off their Goods, and let his Master have the rest of the Winter to slay his Heats. It was therefore signified unto him; That, The King would shortly send an Agent to reside with the *Emperour*, Authorised, and Instructed in all particulars, which might beget a right Understanding between both Princes. Thus answered, he returns to the *Emperour's* Court: whom *Watton* shortly after followeth, sufficiently instructed; To desire the *Emperour* to be less violent in his requests; and to Advvertise him, That, The Lady Mary, as She was His Con-

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An. Reg. 5.^o *fin, so She was the King's Sister, and, which is more, His Subject: That seeing the King was a Sovereign Prince, without dependency upon any but God, it was not reason, that the Emperour should intermeddle, either with Ordering His Subjects, or directing the Affairs of His Realm. But so far he was Authorised to offer; That whatsoever favour the King's Subjects had in the Emperour's Dominions, for their Religion, the same should the Emperour's Subjects receive in England. Further than this, as the King, his Master, would not go, so it would be a lost labour to desire it of him. This was enough to let the Emperour see, how little his Threats were feared, which made him the less forward in sending more. Which Passages, relating to the Princess Mary, I have laid together, for the better understanding, how all matters stood about this time, betwixt Her, and the King; though possibly the sending of *Wotton* to the Emperour might be the Work of the next year, when the King's Affairs were better settled, then they were at the present.*

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For the King, finding the extraordinary Coldness of the Emperour, when his assistance was required, for Defence of *Bulloign*, and the hot Pursuit of his Demands of a Toleration, for the Family of the Lady *Mary*, conceived it most expedient, for His Affairs, to unite Himself more strongly, and entirely, in a League with *France*. For entrance whereunto, an Hint was taken from some Words, which fell from *Guidotti* at the Treaty of *Bulloign*: when he propounded; That, in stead of the Queen of *Scots*, whom the *English Commissioners* demanded for a Wife to their King, a Daughter of the *French King* might be joynd in Marriage with Him; affirming merrily. That, *If it were a dry Peace, it would hardly be durable*. These Words, which then were taken onely for a Slight, or Diversion, are now more seriously considered: as *Many times the smallest Overtures produce Conclusions of the greatest Consequence*. A Solemn Embassy is thereupon directed to the Court of *France*: the Marquis of *Northampton* nominated for the Chief Ambassador, associated with the Bishop of *Ely*; Sir *Philip Hobby*, Gentleman-Usher of the Order; Sir *William Pickering*; Sir *Thomas Smith*, Principal Secretary of State, and Sir *John Mason*, Clerk of the Council; as Commissioners with him. And, that they might appear in the Court of *France* with the greater Splendour, they were accompanied with the Earls of *Arundel*, *Rutland*, and *Ormond*; and the Lords, *Lisle*, *Fitz-Water*, *Abergavenny*, *Bray*, and *Evers*, with Knights, and Gentlemen of Note, to the number of six and twenty, or thereabouts. Their Train so limited, for avoiding of contention amongst themselves, that no Earl should have above four Attendants; no Baron above three; nor any Knight, or Gentleman, above two apiece; the Commissioners not being limited to any number, as the others were. Setting forwards in the Moneth of *June*, they were met by the Lord Constable *Chastillon*, and by him Conducted to the Court, lying at *Chasteau Bryan*: the nearer to which as they approached, the greater was the concourse of the *French Nobility*, to attend upon them. Being brought unto the King, then being in his Bed-chamber, the Marquis first presented him, in the name of his King, with the Order of Saint George, called *The Garter*: wherewith he was presently Invested by Sir *Philip Hobby*, who, being an Officer of the Order, was made Commissioner (as it seemed) for that purpose chiefly; rewarded for it by that King with a Chain of Gold, valued at two hundred pounds, and a Gown, richly trimmed with *Aglets*, which he had then upon his back.

This Ceremony being thus performed; the Bishop of *Ely*, in a short Speech Declared, How desirous his Master was, not onely to continue, but to encrease Amity with the *French King*; that for this end He had sent the Order of *The Garter*, to be both a Testimony, and Tye of Love between them; to which purpose principally, those Societies of Honour were first devised: Declaring, that they had Commission to make Overtures of some other matters, which was like to make the Concord betwixt the Kings, and their Realms, not onely more durable, but in all expectation perpetual; and thereupon desired the King to appoint

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point some persons, enabled with Authority, to Treat with them. To which it was Answered, by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, in the name of that King; That his Master was ready to apprehend, and embrace all Offers, tending to encrease of Amity; and the rather, for that long Hostility had made their new Friendship both more weak in it self, and more obnoxious unto Jealousies, and Distrusts: and therefore promised on the King's behalf, that Commissioners should be appointed to Treat with them about any matters, which they had in Charge. In pursuance whereof, the said Cardinal, the Constable *Chastillon*, the Duke of *Guise*, and others of like Eminent note, being appointed for the Treaty, the *English* Commissioners first prosecute their Old Demand for the Queen of *Scots*. To which it was Answered by the *French*, That they had parted with too much Treasure, and spent too many Lives, upon any Conditions, to let Her go: and that Conclusion had been made, long before, for Her Marriage with the *Dauphin of France*. The *English*, upon this, proposed a Marriage between their King, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, the Eldest Daughter of *France* (who after was Married to *Philip the Second*) to which the *French* Commissioners seemed very inclinable; with this Proviso notwithstanding, That neither Party should be bound, either in Conscience, or Honour, untill the Lady should accomplish twelve years of Age.

And so far Matters went on smoothly: but, when they came to talk of Portion, there appeared a vast difference between them. The *English* Commissioners ask no more, then fifteen hundred thousand Crowns; but fell, by one hundred thousand after another, till they sunk to eight. The *French* on the other side began as low, at one hundred thousand; but would be drawn no higher, then to Promise two: that being (as they affirmed) the greatest Portion, which ever any of the *French* Kings had given with a Daughter. But, at the last, it was accorded, that the Lady should be sent into *England* at the *French* King's Charges, when She was come within three Moneths of the Age of Marriage; sufficiently appointed with Jewels, Apparel, and convenient Furniture for Her House; That, at the same time, Bonds should be delivered for Performance of Covenants, at *Paris* by the *French*, and at *London* by the King of *England*; and That, in case the Lady should not consent, after She should be of Age for Marriage, the Penalty should be one hundred and fifty thousand Crowns. The perfecting of the Negotiation, and the settling of the Lady's Joynture referred to such Ambassadors, as the *French* King should send to the Court of *England*. Appointed whereunto were the Lord Marshal of *France*, the Duke of *Guise*, the President *Mortimier*, the Principal Secretary of that King, and the Bishop of *Perigoux*; who, being attended by a Train of 400. men, were conducted from *Gravesend* by the Lord Admiral *Clinton*, welcomed with Great Shot from all the Ships, which lay on the *Thames*, and a Vollie of Ordnance from the Tower, and lodged in *Sussex*: Place in *South-wark*. From whence attended the next day to the King's House at *Richmond*: His Majesty then remaining at *Hampton-Court*, by reason of the Sweating Sickness (of which more anon) which at that time was at the Highest.

Having refreshed themselves that night, they were brought the next day before the King, to whom the Marshal presented, in the name of his Master, the Collar, and Habit of St. *Michael*, being at that time the Principal Order of that Realm: in testimony of that dear Affection, which he did bear unto him; greater then which (as he desired him to believe) a Father could not bear unto his Natural son. And then, Addressing himself in a short Speech unto His Highness, he desired him, amongst other things, not to give entertainment to Vulgar Romours, which might breed Jealousies, and Distrusts, between the Crowns; and, that if any difference did arise between the Subjects of both Kingdoms, they might be ended by Commissioners, without engaging either Nation in the Acts of Hostility. To which the King returned a very favourable Answer, and so dismissed them for the present. Two, or three days being spent in Feasting, the Commissioners on both sides settled themselves upon the matter

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of the Treaty; confirming what had passed before, and adding thereunto the Proportioning of the Ladie's Jointure. Which was accorded at the last, to the yearly value of ten thousand Marks *English*; with this Condition interposed, that, if the King died before the Marriage, all her Pretensions to that Jointure should be buried with him. All Matters being thus brought unto an happy Conclusion, the *French* prepared for their Departure: at which Time the *Marschal* presented *Monsieur Boys*, to remain as *Legier* with the King, and the *Marguets* presented Mr. *Pickering*, to be his Majesty's Resident in the Court of *France*. And so the *French* take leave of *England*, rewarded by the King in such a Royal and Munificent Manner, as shewed, he very well understood what belonged to a Royal Suitour: those, which the *French* King had designed for the *English* Ambassadors, (not actually bestowed, till all things had been fully settled, and dispatched in *England*) hardly amounting to a fourth part of that Munificence, which the King had shewed unto the *French*.

Grown confident of his own Security, by this new Alliance, the King not only made less Reckoning of the Emperour's Interposings in the Case of Religion; but proceeded more vigorously, then before, in the Reformation: the Building up of which upon a surer, and more durable Bottom, was contrived this year, though not established till the next. Nothing as yet had been concluded positively, and Dogmatically, in Points of Doctrine, but as they were to be collected from the *Homilies*, and the Publick *Liturgie*; and those but few, in Reference to the many Controversies, which were to be maintained against the *Papists*, *Anabaptists*, and other Sectaries of that Age. Many Disorders had grown up in this little time, in the Officiating the *Liturgie*, the Vestures of the Church, and the Habit of Church Men, began by *Calvin*, persecuted by *Hooper*, and countenanced by the large Immunities, which had been given to *John a Lasco*, and his Church of Strangers. And unto these, the change of Altars into Tables gave no small Encrease: as well by reason of some Differences, which grew amongst the Ministers themselves upon that Occasion; as in regard of that Irreverence, which it bred in the People, to whom it made the Sacrament to appear less Venerable, then before it did. The People had been so long accustomed to receive that Sacrament upon their Knees; that no Rule, or Canon, was thought necessary to keep them to it: which thereupon was not imprudently omitted in the Publick *Rubrick*. The Change of Altars into Tables, the Practice of the Church of Strangers, and *John a Lasco's* Book in Maintenance of sitting at the Holy Table, made many think that Posture best, which was so much countenanced. And, what was like to follow upon such a Liberty, the Proneness of those Times to *Heterodoxies*, and *Prophanes*, gave just cause to fear. Somewhat was therefore to be done to prevent the Mischief: and nothing could prevent it better, then to reduce the People to their Antient Custom by some Rule, or *Rubrick*, by which they should be bound to receive it kneeling.

So for the Ministers themselves, they seemed to be as much at a Loss in their Officiating at the Table, as the People were in their Irreverences to the Blessed Sacrament. Which cannot better be expressed, then in the words of some *Papish* Prelates, by whom it was objected unto some of our chief Reformers. Thus *White* of *Lincoln* chargeth it upon *Bishop Ridley* (to omit his prophane calling of the Lord's Table, in what Posture soever situated, by the Name of an *Oyster-Board*)

(*) *That, when their Table was Constituted, they could never be content in placing the same; now East, now North, now one way, now another: untill it pleased God, of his Goodness, to place it quite out of the Church.* The like did *Weston* (the *Prolocutor* of the Convocation, in the first of *Queen Mary*) in a Disputation held with *Latimer*; telling him with Reproach, and Contempt enough, that the Protestants, having turned their Table, were like a Company of *Apes*, that knew not which way to turn their Tails; looking one day East, and another West; one this way, and another that way, as their Fancies lead them. Thus finally, one *Miles*

(*) *Alls and Mon.*

(*) Printed 1556. pag. 81.

Hubbard, in a Book, called *The Display of Protestants* (*) doth report the Business.

How

How long (say they) were they learning to set their Tables to minister the Communion upon? First they placed it aloft, where the High Altar stood, then must it be removed from the Wall, that one might go between: the Ministers being in Contention on whether pare to turn their faces, either toward the West, the North, or South; some would stand Westward, some Northward, some Southward. It was not to be thought, but that the Papists would much please themselves in these Disorders; and that this Difference, and Diversity, though in Circumstance onely, might draw contempt upon the Sacrament it self, and give great Scandal unto many Moderate, and well meaning Men. A Rubrick therefore is resolved on, by which the Minister, which officiates, should be pointed to a certain Place; and, by the Rubrick then devised, the North-side was thought fitter, then any other.

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But the main Matters, which were now brought under Consideration, were the reviewing of the Liturgie, and the Composing of a Book of Articles: this last for the avoiding diversities of Opinions, and for the stablishing of Consent touching true Religion; the other for removing of such Offences, as had been taken by Calvin, and his Followers, at some parts thereof. For Calvin, having broke the Ice, resolved to make his way through it to the Mark he aimed at, which was to have this Church depend upon his Direction, and not to be less estimable here, then in other places. To which end, as he formerly had applied himself to the Lord Protellour, as appears by his Letter of the year An. 1549. So now he sets upon the King, the Council, and the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, in hope to bring them to his Bent. In his Letters to the King, and Council, (as himself signified to Bullinger, on the 29th. of August) he exciteth them to proceed to a Reformation; that is to say, to such a Reformation (*) as he had projected, (*) *Ut ees intiremus ad pergendum &c.* and without which his Followers would not be contented. In his Letters to the King alone, he lets him know (*) that many things were still amiss in the State of the Kingdom, which stood in need of Reformation. And finally in those to Cranmer, he certifies him, that in the Service of this Church, as then it stood, there remained a whole Mass of Popery, which did not onely (*) darken, but destroy God's Holy Worship. But fearing he might not edifie with so wise a Prince, assisted by such a Prudent Council, and such Learned Prelats, he hath his Agents in the Court, the Country, and the Universities, by whom he drives on his Design, in all parts at once. And so far he prevailed in the first two years, that in the Convocation, which began in the former year, An. 1550, the first Debate amongst the Prelats was of such Doubts, as had arisen about some things contained in the Common-Prayer-Book and more particularly touching such Feasts, as were retained, and such, as had been abrogated by the Rules thereof; the Form of Words used at the giving of the Bread, and the different Manner of Administring the Holy Sacrament. Which being signified unto the Prolocutour, and the rest of the Clergy, who had received somewhat in Charge about it the day before, Answer was made, that they had not yet sufficiently considered of the Points proposed, but that they would give their Lordships some account thereof in the following Session. But what account was given, appears not in the Acts of that Convocation; of which there is nothing left upon Record, but this very Passage.

For the avoiding of these Doubts, the satisfying of the Importunities of some, and rectifying the Disorders of Others, rather then in regard of any Impiety, or Impertinency in the Book it self, it was brought under a Review; and being to reviewed, was ratified, and confirmed by Act of Parliament, in the following year. By the Tenour of which Act it may appear, First, That there was nothing contained in the said First Book, but what was agreeable to the Word of God, and the Primitive Church, very comfortable to all good People, desiring to live in Christian Conversation, and most profitable to the Estate of this Realm. Secondly, That such Doubts, as had been raised in the use and exercise thereof, proceeded rather from the Curiosity of the Minister, and Mistakers, then of any other Worthy Cause.

An. Reg. 5^o Cause. And therefore Thirdly, That it was found expedient, that the said Book should be faithfully perused, explained, and made fully perfect in all such places, in which it was necessary to be made more earnest, and fit for the stirring up of all Christian people, to the true honouring of Almighty God. So far we are directed by the Light of this Act of Parliament, 5. 6. 1. aw. 6. cap. 1. But, if we would desire to know the Names of those good and Godly Men, by whom it was so explained, and altered, in that it leaves us in the dark: none of them being named, nor any way laid open for the finding of them. So that the most, that can be done, is to go by Conjecture, and to ascribe it to those Men, who had first composed it, and who were afterwards Authorized, for drawing up the Form of Consecration, &c. annexed to this new Book, as a part thereof, and so adjudged to be by two Acts of Parliament.

For the avoiding of Diversities of Opinions, and for stablishing Consent, touching true Religion, it was thought necessary to compose a Book of Articles: in which should be contained the Common Principles of the Christian Faith, in which all Parties did agree; together with the most material Points, in which they differed. For the better performing of which Work, Melancthon's Company and Assistance, had been long desired. That he held Correspondence once with the King, and Arch-Bishop Cranmer, appears by his Epistles of the year 1549, 1550, and 1551. but that he came not over, as had been expected, must be imputed, either to our home-bred Troubles, or the great Sickness of this year, or the deplorable Death of the Duke of Somerset, on whose Integrity, and Candour, he did most rely. Yet the best was, that, though Erasmus was dead, and Melancthon absent, yet were they to be found both alive, and present in their learned Writings. By which, together with the Augustan Confession, the Composers of those Articles were much directed; not, that they looked upon them as the Rule, or Canon, but onely as subservient helps to promote the Service. But, who they were, that laboured in this weighty Work, and made it ready for Debate, and Conference, in the next Convocation; as I have no where found, so I cannot conjecture: unless perhaps, we may attribute the Honour of it to those Bishops, and the other Learned Men, before remembred, whose Hands and Heads had before been exercised in the publick Formulas. That Cranmer had a great hand in them, is a thing past question; who therefore takes upon himself, as the Authour of them: for which Consult the Acts and Mon. fol. 1704. In which, we are to understand him, as the principal Architect, who contrived the Building, and gave the inferiour Workmen their several parts, and Offices, in that great Employment; and not, that it was the sole work of his Hands, or had been agitated and debated in no Head, but his. So did the Emperour Justinian, in the Book of Institutes, and Theodosius in the Code, Boniface in the Decretals, and John the 22th. in that part of the Canon Law, which they call the Extravagants: the honour of which Works was severally arrogated by them; because performed by their Encouragement, and at their Appointment. But whosoever laboured in the Preparation of these Articles, certain it is, that they were onely a Rude Draught, and of no signification, till they had passed the Veto of the Convocation; and there we shall hear further of them.

In Reference to the Polity and good Order of the Common-Wealth, there were two things done of great Importance: the one redounding to the Present, the other to the Future Benefit of the English Nation. Of which last sort, was the suppressing of the Corporation of Merchant-Strangers, the Merchants of the Steel-Tard, as they commonly called them. Concerning which we are to know, that the English, in the Times foregoing, being neither strong in Shipping, nor much accustomed to the Seas, received all such Commodities, as were not of the growth of their own Country, from the hands of Strangers, resorting hither, from all Parts, to upbraid our Laziness. Amongst which, the Merchants of the East-Land parts of *Almain*, or *High Germany*, (well known in former Stories by the Name of *Esperlingers*,) used to bring hither, yearly, great quantities of

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Wheat, Rye, and other Grain, as also Cables, Ropes, Masts, Pitch, Tar, Flax, Hemp, Linen Cloth, Waincoats, Wax, Steel, and other profitable Merchandises, for the use of this Kingdom. For their Encouragement wherein they were amply Privileged, exempt from many Impositions, which *Merchant-Strangers* use to pay in all other Countries, erected into a Corporation by King Henry the Third, commonly called *Gilda Aula Thentonicorum*; permitted first to carry out *Wools* unwrought, and afterwards a certain number of Cloaths, when the *English* were grown skilfull in that Manufacture. Their Court kept in a fair large House built near the *Thames*, which from an open place, wherein *Steel* had formerly been sold, took the Name of the *Steel-Yard*. Grown Rich, and driving a great Trade, they drew upon themselves the Envy (as all other *Merchant-Strangers* did) of the *Londoners* chiefly, but generally of all the Port Towns of *England*, who began now to think the Seas as open to them, as to any others. It was considered also, by the *Lords* of the Council, that by suffering all Commodities of a Foreign growth, and a great part of the Commodities of the growth of *England*, to be imported, and exported in *Out-landish* Bottoms, the *English* Merchants were discouraged from Navigation, whereby the Shipping of the Realm was kept low, and despicable. It was therefore thought expedient, in Reason of State, to make void their Privileges, and put the Trade into the hands of the *English* Merchants. For the doing whereof, the *Easterlings*, or Merchants of the *Steel-Yard*, had given cause enough. For, whereas they had antiently been permiered to ship away but eighty Cloaths, afterwards one hundred, and at last one thousand; it was found, that, at this time, they had transported, in their own Bottoms, 44000 *English* Cloaths, there being but a 100 ship'd away, by all Strangers else. It was also found, that, besides the Native Commodities of their own growth, they had brought in much Strangers goods, of other Countries, contrary to their agreement, made with King Edward the Fourth; and that, upon a further search, their Corporation was found imperfect, their Numbers, Names, and Nations not sufficiently known. This gave the Council ground enough for seising all their Liberties into the hands of the King, and never after to restore them; notwithstanding the great Embassies and Solicitations of the Cities of *Hamborough*, and *Lubeck*, and many other of the *Hans*-Towns in *Germany*, who had seen their Factories, and Factours. And herewith the seasonable coming of *Sebastian Cabot* (of which more anon) gave no small Advantage: by whose Encouragement, and Example, the *English* Nation began to fall in Love with the Seas, to try their Fortunes in the Discovery of unknown Regions, and consequently to encrease their Shipping; till by degrees, they came to drive a wealthy Trade in most parts of the World, and to be more considerable for their Naval Power, then all their Neighbours.

But because all things could not be so well settled at the first, as not to need the Help, and Correspondencies of some foreign Nations, it was thought fit to hearken to an Entercourse with the Crown of *Sweden*; which was then Opportunely offered by *Gustavus Ericus*, the first of the Family now reigning. By which it was agreed,

First, That, if the King of *Sweden* sent Bullion into *England*, He might carry away *English* Commodities without Custom.

Secondly, That He should carry Bullion to no other Prince.

Thirdly, That, if He sent Oximus, Steel, Copper, &c. He should pay Customs for *English* Commodities, as an *English*-man.

Fourthly, That, if He sent other Merchandise, He should have free Interchange, paying Custom, as a Stranger.

Whereupon the Mint was set on work, which brought the King, for the first year, the sum of twenty four thousand Pounds; of which the sum of fourteen thousand pounds was designed for *Ireland*, and the rest lay'd up in the *Exchequer*: some other waies were devised also, that the Mint might be kept going, and some agreement made with the *Mint-Masters*, in the Point of *Coyne*: which

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which proved more to the Advantage of the King, then the present profit of the Subject. For, hereupon, on the ninth of *July*, the base Money, Coyned in the time of the King deceased, was publicly decayed by Proclamation: the Shilling to go for Nine Pence onely, and the Groat for Three Pence. And, on the seventeenth of *August* then next following, the Nine-Penny-piece was decayed to Six Pence, the Groat to Two Pence, the Half-Groat to a Penny. By means whereof, he, that was worth one thousand pound on the eighth of *July*, without any ill-husbandry in himself, or diminution of his stock, was found, before the eighteenth day of *August*, to be worth no more then half that Sum, and so proportionably in all other Sums, both above, and under, Which, though it caused many an heavy heart, and much repining at the present, amongst all those, whose Wealth lay most especially in Trade, and Money; yet proved it by degrees a chief Expedient, for reducing the Coyne of *England* to it's ancient Valew. For, on the thirtieth of *October*, the Subjects had the tast of the future benefit, which was to be expected from it; there being then some Coyns Proclaimed, both in Gold, and Silver: Pieces of thirty shillings, ten shillings, and five shillings, of the finest Gold; pieces of five shillings, two shillings six pence, one shilling six pence, &c. of the purest Silver: Which put the Merchant in good hope, that he should drive as rich a Trade under this young King, as in the happiest dayes of his Predecessours, before the Mony was debased.

And now we come to the great Troubles in the Court, began in the Destruction of the Duke of *Somerset*: but ending in the untimely death of this Hopeful King; so signified (as it was thought, upon the Post-Fact) by two strange Prefages within the compass of this year; and one, which followed in the next. The first, of this year, was a great and terrible *Earthquake*, which happened on the twenty fifth of *May*, at *Croydon*, and some other Villages thereabouts, in the County of *Surrey*. This was conceived to have Prognosticated those *Concessions*, which afterwards happened in the Court, to the fall of the Great Duke of *Somerset*, and divers Gentlemen of Note, and Quality, who perished in the same ruin with him. The last was of six *Dolphins*, taken up in the *Thames*, three of them at *Queen-Borough*, and three near *Greenwich*; the least as big as any Horse. The Rarity whereof occasioned some Grave men to dispench with their Prudence, and some Great Persons also to put off their State, that they might behold a Spectacle, so unusual to them. Their coming up so far, beheld by Mariners, as a Prefage of foul weather at Sea; but afterwards by States-Men, of those Storms, and Tempests, which afterwards befell this Nation, in the Death of King *Edward*, and the Tempestuous Times of *Queen Marie's* Reign.

But the most sad Prefage of all was the Breaking out of a Disease, called the *Sweating Sickness*; appearing first at *Shrewsbury*, on the fifteenth of *April*, and after spreading by degrees over all the Kingdom; ending its Progress in the North, about the beginning of *October*. Described by a very Learned Man, to be a new, strange, and violent Disease: wherewith if any man were attached, he dyed, or escaped within nine hours, or ten at most; if he slept, (as most men desired to do) he dyed within six hours, if he took cold, he dyed in three. It was observed to Rage chiefly amongst men of strongest Constitution, and years: few aged Men, or Women, or young Children, being either subject to it, or dying of it. Of which last sort, those of most Eminent Rank, were two of the Sons of *Charles Brandon*: both dying at *Cambridge*, both Dukes of *Suffolk* (as their Father had been before;) but the youngest following his dead Brother so close at the Heels, that he onely out-lived him long enough to enjoy that Title. And, that, which was yet most strange of all, no Foreigner, which was then in *England* (four hundred *French* attending here, in the Hostess of it, on that King's Ambassadours) did perish by it. The *English* being singled out, tainted, and dying of it in all other Countries, without any danger to the Natives; called therefore, in most *Latine* Writers, by the name of *Sudor Anglicus*, or

The

The English Sweat. First known amongst us, in the beginning of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh; and then beheld, as a Presage of that troublefom, and Laborious Reign, which after followed: the King being for the most part in continual Action; and the Subjects, either sweating out their Blood, or Treasure. Not then so violent, and extreme, as it was at the present; such infinite Multitudes being at this time swept away by it, that there died eight hundred in one week in London only.

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These being looked on as Presages, we will next take a view of those sad Events, which were supposed to be Prognosticated by them; beginning first with the *Concessions* of the Court by open Factions, and ending in a *Sweating Sickness*; which drew out some of the best Blood, and most Vital Spirits of the Kingdom. The Factions Headed by the Duke of Somerset, and the Earl of Warwick: whose reconciliation, on the Earl's part, was but feigned, and counterfeited; though he had both given, and taken Pledges for a faster Friendship. The good success he found in his first attempt against the Duke, when he degraded him from the Office of Lord Protector, emboldened him to make some further trial of his Fortune; to which there could not be a stronger Temptation, then the Servility of some Great Men about the Court, in prostituting their affection to his Pride, and Tyranny. Grown absolute in the Court (but more by the weakness of others, then any virtue of his own) he thought it no impossible matter, to make that Weakness an improvement of his strength, and Power. And, passing from one Imagination to another, he fixed at last upon a Fancy of transferring the Imperial Crown of this Realm, from the Royal Family of the *Tudors*, unto that of the *Dudleys*. This to be done, by Marrying one of his Sons to the Lady Jane, the eldest Daughter of Henry, Lord Marquess Dorset, and of the Lady Francis his Wife, one of the Daughters, and co-Heirs of Charles Brandon, the late Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, Dowager of France, and the best-beloved Sister of King Henry the Eighth. In order whereunto, he must first oblige the Marquess by some signal favour; advance himself to such a Greatness, as might render any of his Sons an agreeable match for either of the Marquess's Daughters; and finally devise some means, by which the Duke of Somerset might be took out of the way: whose life he looked on, as the principal Obstacle to his great Aspirings. By this Design, he should not only satisfy his Ambition, but also sacrifice to Revenge. The Execution of his Father, in the first year of the Reign of the late King Henry, would not out of his mind; and by this means he might have opportunity to execute his just vengeance on the King's Posterity, for the unjust Murder (as he esteem'd it) of his innocent Father. Confirmed in these Resolves by Sir John Gates, Lieutenant of the Band of Pensioners; who was reported afterwards to have put this Plot into his Head at the first, as he stood to him in the prosecution of it to the very last.

The Privy Council of his own thoughts having thus advised, the Privy Council of the King was in the next place to be made sure to him, either obliged by Favours, or gained by Flatteries: those of most Power to be most Courted, through a smooth Countenance, fair Language, and other thriving Acts of insinuation, to be made to all. Of the Lord Treasurer Paullet he was sure enough; whom he had found to have so much of the *Willow* in him, that he could bend him how he pleased. And being sure of him, he thought himself as sure of the Publick Treasure, as if it were in his own Pockets. The Marquess of Northampton was Captain of the Band of Pensioners, increased in Power, though not in Place; by ranging under his Command, as well the Light-Horse, as the Men at Arms, which had served at *Bulloign*. With him the Earl had peeced before, drew him into his first Design, for bringing down the Lord Protector to a lower Level: but made him faster then before, by doing so many good Offices to Sir William Herbert, who had Married his Sister. Which Herbert, being son of Richard Herbert of *Ewias*, one of the Bastards of William Lord Herbert of Ragland, the first Earl of Pembroke of that House, was, of himself

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himself, a Man of a daring Nature, Boisterously bold, and, upon that account, much favoured by King *Henry the Eighth*, growing into more Credit with the King, in regard of the Lady *Ann* his Wife, the Sister of Queen *Katharin* Par, and having mightily raised himself in the fall of *Abbies*, he was made chief Gentleman of the *Privy-Chamber*, and by that Title ranked amongst the Executors of the King's last Will, and then appointed to be one of the Council to the King now Reigning. Being found by *Dudly*, a fit man to advance his ends, he is by his Procurement gratified (for I know not what Service, unless it were for furthering the Sale of *Bullioign*) with some of the King's Lands, amounting to five hundred pounds in yearly Rents, and made Lord President of *Wales*, promoted afterwards to the place of *Master of the Horse*, that he might be as considerable in the Court, as he was in the Country. It was to be presumed, that he would not be wanting unto him, who had so preferred him. By these three all Affairs of Court were carried: plotted by *Dudley*, smoothed by the Courtship of the *Marquiss*, and executed by the bold hand of the new Lord President.

Being thus fortified, he revives his former Quarrel with the Duke of *Somerset*; not that he had any just ground for it, but that he looked upon him as the onely Block, which lay in the way of his Aspirings, and therefore was to be removed by what means soever. Plots are laid therefore to entrap him, Snares to catch him, Reports raised of him, as a Proud, and Ambitious Person, of whose Aspirings there would be no other end, then the Crown it self, and common Rumours spread abroad, that some of his Followers had proclaimed him King in several places, onely to finde how well the People stood affected to it. His Doors are watched, and Notice took of all, that went in and out, his Words observed, made much worse by telling, and aggravated with all odious Circumstances to his Disadvantage. No way untravailed in the Arts of Treachery, and Fraud, which might bring him into Suspicion with the King, and Obloquie with the common People. The Duke's Friends were not ignorant of all these Practices, and could not but perceive, but that his Ruin, and their own, was projected by them. The Law of Nature bound them to preserve themselves: but their Adversaries, were too cunning for them at the Weapon of Wit, and had too much Strength in their own Hands, to be easily overmastered in the way of Power. Some dangerous Counsels were thereupon infused into him, (more likely by his Wife, then by any other) to invite these Lords unto a Banquet, and either to kill them as they sat, or violently to drag them from the Table, and cut of their Heads; the Banquet to be made at the Lord *Paget's* House, near *Saint Clement's* Church, and one hundred stout Men to be lodged in *Somerset-Place*, not far off, for the Execution of that Murther. This Plot confessed (if any Credit may be given to such Confessions) by one *Crane*, and his Wife, both great in the Favour of the Ducheſs, and with her committed. And after justified by *Sir Thomas Palmer*, who was committed with the Duke, in his Examination taken by the Lords of the Council. There were said to be some Consultations also, for raising the Forces in the North, for setting upon the *Gen's d'arms*, which served in the Nature of a *Life Guard* (as before was said) upon some day of General-Muster: two thousand Foot, and one hundred Horse of the Duke's being designed unto that Service; and that, being done, to raise the City, by proclaiming Liberty. To which it was added by *Hammond*, one of the Duke's false Servants, That his Chamber at *Greenwich* had been strongly guarded by Night, to prevent the Surprisal of his Person.

How much of this is true, or whether any of it be true or not, it is not easie to determine, though possibly enough it is, that all this Smoak could not be without some Fire: which whoſoever kindled first, there is no doubt, but that Earl *Dudly* blew the Coals, and made it seem greater then it was. Of all these Practices, and Designs (if such they were) the Earl is constantly advertized by his Espials, whom he had amongst them; and gave them as much Line, and Leisure,

sure, as they could desire, till he had made all things ready for the Executing *An. Reg. 5.*
of his own Projectments. But first there must be a great day of bestowing Ho-
nours: as well for gaining the more Credit unto him, and his Followers; as by the
jollity of the Time, to take away all Fear of Danger from the Opposite Party. *1551.*
In Pursuit whereof, Henry Lord Gray, Marquess of Dorset, descended from
Elizabeth, Wife of King Edward the Fourth, by Her former Husband, is made
Duke of Suffolk: to which he might pretend some Claim, in Right of the Lady
Frances, his Wife, the eldest Daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and
Sister of Henry and Charles, the two late Dukes thereof, who dyed a few Moneths
since, at Cambray, of the Sweating Sicknesse. The Earl himself, for some Rea-
sons very well known to himself, and not unknown to many others, is made
Duke of Northumberland: which Title had lain Dormant, ever since the Death
of Henry Lord Percy, the sixth Earl of that Family, who dyed in the year 1537,
or thereabouts: of whom more anon. The Lord Treasurer Pawler, being then
Earl of Wiltshire, is made Marquess of Winchester: Sir William Herbert created
at the same time Lord Herbert of Cardiff, and Earl of Pembroke. Some make
Sir Thomas Darcie, Captain of the Guard, to be advanced unto the Title of Lord
Darcy of Chich on the same day also: which others place, perhaps more right-
ly, on the fifth of April. The Solemnity of which Creations being passed over,
the Order of Knighthood is conferred on William Cecil Esquire, one of the Se-
cretaries of Estate; John Cheek, Tutor, or Schole-Master to the King; Henry
Dudley, and Henry Nevil, Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber. At, or about
which time, Sir Robert Dudley, the third Son of the new Duke of Northumber-
land, (but one, which had more of the Father in him, than all the rest) is sworn
of the Bed Chamber to the King; which was a place of greatest Trust, and Near-
ness to His Majestie's Person.

The Triumphs of this Day, being the eleventh day of October, were but a Por-
logue to the Tragedy, which began on the fifth day after. At what time the
Duke of Sommerfet, the Lord Gray, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Ralph Vane, Sir
Thomas Arundel, together with Hammond, Newdigate, and two of the Scim-
mours, were seized on, and committed to Custody; all of them, except Palmer,
Vane, and Arundel, being sent to the Tower. And these three kept in several
Chambers, to attend the pleasure of the Council, for their Examinations. The
Duchess of Sommerfet, Crane, and his Wife, above-mentioned, and one of the
Gentlewomen of her Chamber, were sent unto the Tower on the morrow next;
followed not long after by Sir Thomas Holdcroft, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Mi-
chael Stanhop, Wingfield, Banister, and Vaughan, with certain others: for
whose Commitment there was neither cause known, nor afterwards discovered.
Onely the greater Number raised the greater Noise, increased the Apprehension of
the present Danger, and served to make the Duke more Criminal in the Eyes of
the People, for drawing so many of all sorts into the Conspiracy. Much time
was spent in the Examination of such of the Prisoners, as either had before disco-
vered the Practice (if any such Practice were intended) or were now fitted, and in-
structed, to betray the Duke into the Power, and Malice of his Enemies. The Con-
fessions, which seemed of most importance, were those of Palmer, Crane, and Ham-
mond; though the Truth, and Reality, of the Depositions may be justly question-
ed. For, neither were they brought, face to face, before the Duke, at the time
of his Trial; as in ordinary course they should have been: nor suffered loss of
Life, or Goods, as some others did, who were no more guilty then themselves. And
yet the Business staid not here; the Earl of Arundel, and the Lord Paget,
and two of the Earl of Arundel's Servants, being sent Prisoners after the rest,
upon Crane's detection. It was further added by Palmer, that, on the last St.
George's Day, the Duke of Sommerfet, being upon a journey into the North,
would have raised the People; if he had not been assured by Sir William Her-
bert, that no Danger was intended to him.

Six Weeks there passed between the Commitment of the Prisoners, and the
Duke's

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Duke's Arraignment; which might have given the King more, then leisure enough to finde the depth of the Design; if either he had not been directed by such, as the new Duke of *Northumberland* had placed about him, or taken by a Solemnity, which served fitly for it. For so it happened, that the *Queen* Regent of *Scotland*, having been in *France* to see Her Daughter, and being unwilling to return by Sea, in that cold time of the year, obtained leave of the King (by the mediation of the *French* Ambassadour) to take Her journey through *England*. Which leave being granted, She put Her self into the Bay of *Portsmouth*, where She was Honourably received, and conveyed towards *London*. From *Hampton-Court* She passed by Water, on the second day of *November*, to *St. Paul's Wharf*. From whence She rode, accompanied with divers Noble Men, and Ladies of *England*, besides Her own Train of *Scotland*, to the Bishop's Palace. Presented at Her first coming thither, in the name of the City, with Muttons, Beefs, Veals, Poultry, Wine, and all other sorts of Provisions, necessary for Her Entertainment, even to Bread, and Fewel. Having reposd Her self two days, She was conveyed in a Chariot to the Court at *White-Hall*, accompanied with the Lady *Margaret Douglas*, Daughter of *Margaret*, Queen of *Scots*, by Her second Husband; together with the Duchesses of *Richmond*, *Suffolk*, and *Northumberland*; besides many other Ladies of both Kingdoms, which followed after in the Train. At the Court Gate She was received by the Dukes of *Suffolk*, and *Northumberland*, and the *Lord High-Treasurer*, the Guard standing on both sides, as She went along; and being brought unto the King, whom She found standing at the end of the Great Hall, She cast Her self upon Her knees, but was presently taken up, and Saluted by Him, according to the Free Custom of the *English* Nation. Leading Her by the Hand to the Queen's Chamber of Presence: He Saluted in like manner all the Ladies of *Scotland*, and so departed for a while. Dinner being ready, the King conducted Her to the Table prepared for them, where they dined together, but had their Services apart. The Ladies of both Kingdoms were seated in the Queen's Great Chamber, where they were most sumptuously Served. Dinner being done, that Her Attendants might have time to partake of the Entertainment, the King shewed Her His Gardens, Galleries, &c. and, about four of the clock, He brought Her down by the Hand into the Hall, where He Saluted Her, and so She departed to the Bishop's Palace, as before.

Departing towards *Scotland*, on the sixth of that Moneth, She rode through all the Principal Streets of *London*; betwixt the Bishop's House, and the Church in *Shore-ditch*, attended by divers Noble Men, and Women, all the way She went. But more particularly the Duke of *Northumberland* shewed himself with one hundred Horse, each having his Javelin in his hand; and fourty of them apparelled in Black Velvet, Guarded with White and Velvet Caps, and White Feathers, and Chains of Gold about their Necks. Next to these stood one hundred and twenty Horsemen, of the Earl of *Pembroke's*, with black Javelins, Hats, and Feathers. Next to them one hundred of the *Lord Treasurer's* Gentlemen, and Yeomen, with Javelins. These ranks of Horsemen reaching, from the *Cross* in *Cheap-side*, to the end of *Birching-Lane* in *Cornhill*. Brought as far as *Shoreditch-Church*, She was committed to the care of the Sheriffs of *London*, by whom She was attended as far as *Walsham*. Conducted in like manner by the Sheriffs of all the Counties, through which She passed, till She came unto the Borders of *Scotland*: Her Entertainment being provided by the King's appointment, at the Charge of the Counties. Which Passages, not being otherwise Material in the Course of this History, I have adventured to lay down; the better to express the Gallantry, and Glory of the *English* Nation, before *Puritanism*, and the Humour of Parity, occasioned the neglect of all the laudable Solemnities, which antiently had been observed, both in Church, and State.

The Discourse, raised on this Magnificent Reception of the *Scottish* Queen, so filled

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filled all Mouths, and entertained so many Pens, that the Danger of the Duke of *Somerset* seemed for a time to be forgotten; but it was only for a time. For, on the first of *December*, the Duke being brought by water to *Westminster-Hall*, found all things there prepared for his Arraignment. The Lord High-Steward, for the time, was the *Marquess of Winchester*, who took his place under a Cloath of Estate, raised three steps higher, then the rest of the Scaffold. The *Peers*, to the number of twenty seven, sitting one step lower. Amongst these were the Duke of *Northumberland*, the *Marquess of Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*: who, being Parties to the Charge, ought, in all Honesty, and Honour, to have excused themselves, from sitting in Judgment on him, at the time of his Trial. But no Challenge, or Objection, being made, or allowed against them, they took place with the rest. The Court being sat, and the Prisoner brought unto the Bar, the Charge against him was divided into five Particulars: viz. First, His design of Raising men in the North-Parts of the Realm, and of assembling men at his House, to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*. 2. A resolution to assist his Attachment. 3. The Plot for killing the *Gens d'Arms*. 4. His intent for raising London. 5. His purpose of assaulting the Lords, and devising their Deaths. The whole Impachment managed in the name of Treason, and Felony: because in all Treasons the intent, and purpose is as Capital, as the Act it self, if once discovered, either by word, or deed, or any other material Circumstance, though it go no further. But, though Treason made the loudest noise, it was the Felony, which was especially relied upon, for his Condemnation. Two Statutes were pretended for the Ground of the whole Proceedings. The first made in the time of King *Henry the Seventh*, by which it was Enacted, to be Felony, for any inferiour Person, to contrive the death of a Lord of the Council. The second, that of the last Session of *Parliament*, By which it was Declared, to be Treason, for any Twelve Persons, or more, to Assemble together, with an intent to murder any of the Lords of the Council: if, after Proclamation made, they dissolved not themselves, within the space of an hour.

The Indictment being Read, and the Confessions of *Palmer*, and the rest, being produced, and urged by the King's Council, who spared not to press them, as is accustomed in such Cases) to the best advantage. The Duke, though much dismayed, returned this Answer to the Branches of his Acculation: viz. That He never intended to raise the North-Parts of this Realm; but that, upon some bruits, he apprehended a Fear, which made him send to Sir *William Herbert*, to remain his Friend; That He determined not to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, nor any other Lord: but spake of it onely, and determined the contrary; That It had been a mad enterprise; with his hundred men, to assail the *Gens d'Arms*, consisting of nine hundred: which in case he had prevailed, would nothing have advanced the pretended purpose; That Therefore this being senseless, and absurd, must needs discredit other matters: which otherwise might have been believed; That At London he never projected any stir: but ever held it a good place for his security; That, For having men in his Chamber at *Greenwich*, it was manifest, that he meant no harm: because, When he might have done it, he did not. And further, against the persons of them, whose Examinations had been read, he objected many things; desiring, that They might be brought to his face: Which, in regard of his Dignity, and Estate, he conceived to be reasonable. And so it happened unto him, as with many others; that, hoping to make his fault seem less, by a fair Confession, he made it great enough to serve for his Condemnation.

For, presently upon these words, the Council, thinking they had matter enough, from his own Confession, to convict him of Felony, insisted chiefly on that Point, and flourished out their Proofs upon it, to their best Advantage. But so, that they neglected not to aggravate his Offence in the Treason also: that his *Peers* might be under some necessity of finding him guilty in the one; if they

An. Reg. 5 they should finde themselves unsatisfied, for passing their *Verdict* in the other.
 1551. And though neither the one, nor the other, were so clear in Law, as to make him liable to a *Sentence of Condemnation*: if either the Statute in the Contents had been rightly opened, or the *Opinion* of the *Judges* demanded in them; yet what cannot the Great Wit of some *Advocates* do, when they have a mind to serve their Turn upon a *Statute*, contrary to the Mind and Meaning of them that made it. The Duke of *Northumberland*, thereupon, with a Counterfeit Modesty (conceiving that he had him fast enough, in Respect of the *Felony*) desired their Lordships, that no Act against his life might be brought within the Compass of *Treason*; and they who understood his meaning at half a Word, after a full hearing of the Evidence, withdrew themselves into a Room appointed for them: and after some Conference amongst themselves, acquitting him of *Treason*, they pronounced him guilty of the *Felony* only; which being returned for their *Verdict*, by all the Lords one after another, in their Rank and Order, and nothing objected by the Duke, that Judgement should not pass upon him, the Lord High Steward, with a seeming Sorrow, gave Sentence, *That he should be had to the Place from whence he came, from thence to the Place of Execution, and there to hang while he was dead*; which is the Ordinary Form of condemning *Felons*. A Matter not sufficiently to be admired, that the Duke should either be so ignorant, or ill advised, so destitute of present Courage, or so defective in the Use of his Wit, and Judgment, as not to crave the common Benefit of his *Clergy*; which had he done, it must have been allowed him by the Rules of the Court: whether it were, that of his own Misfortunes might render him incapable of laying hold on such Advantages, as the Laws admitted; or that he thought it better to die once for all, then living in a perpetual Fear of dying daily by the malicious Practices and Devices of his powerfull Adversaries; or that he might presume of a Pardon of Course, in regard of the nature of the Offence, in which neither the King, nor the Safety of the Kingdom was concerned, and that the Law, by which it was found guilty of *Felony*, had never been put in Execution upon a man of his Quality, if perhaps at all; or finally, whether it were some secret Judgment on him from above (as some men conceived) that he who had destroyed so many Churches, invaded the Estate of so many Cathedrals, deprived so many Learned Men of their Means, and Livelyhood, should want, (or rather not desire) the Benefit of the *Clergy*, in his greatest extremity. In stead whereof he suffered Judgment of death to pass upon him, gave thanks unto the Lords for his gentle Tryall; craved Pardon of the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquess of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, for his ill Meaning towards them; concluding with an humble Suit for his Life, and Pity to be shewed to his Wife and Children.

It is an antient Custome in the Triall of all great Persons accused of *Treason*, that the Ax of the Tower is carried before them to the Bar, and afterwards at their Return from thence, on the Pronouncing of the Sentence of Condemnation. Which Ceremony not being performed at his going thence, in regard he was condemned of the *Felony* only, gave an occasion unto such as had thronged into the Hall, and knew not otherwise how things passed, to conceive that he had been acquitted absolutely of the whole Indictment. And thereupon so loud a Shout was made in the lower end of the Hall, that the noise thereof was heard beyond *Charing-Cross*, to the great Terrour and Amazement of his guilty Adversaries. But little pleasure found the Prisoner in these Acclamations, and less, the People, when they understood of his Condemnation: so that departing thence with grief, they left the way open for the Prisoner to be carried by water, to the *Cranes* in the *Vinetry*, and from thence peaceably conveyed to the Tower again. Not long after followed the Arraignment of Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, Sir *Ralph Vane*, and Sir *Miles Partridge*, on whom also passed the Sentence of Death; but the certain Day and Time of their Triall, I have

have no where found. Most probable it is, that they were not brought to their Triall, till after the Ax had done its part on the Duke of *Sommerfet*, which was on the twenty third of *January*, because I finde they were not brought to their Execution till the twenty sixth of *February* then next following, the two first being then beheaded, and the two last hanged, at what time they severally Protested, (taking God to witness) that they never practised Treason against the King, or against the Lives of any of the Lords of his Council; *Vane* adding after all the rest, *that his Blood would make Northumberland's Pillow uneasy to him*. None of them less lamented by the Common People, then Sir *Miles Partridge*, against whom they had an old Grudge, for depriving them of the best Ring of Bells, which they had at that time, called *Jesus-Bells*; which winning of King *Henry* at a Cast of Dice, he caused to be taken down, and sold, or melted for his own Advantage. If any Bell tolled for him when he went to his Death, or that the sight of an Halter made him think of a Bell-Rope, it could not but remember him of his Fault in that Particular, and mind him of calling upon *Christ Jesus*, for his Grace and Mercy.

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But in the mean time, Care is taken, that the King should not be too apprehensive of these Misfortunes into which his Uncle had been cast; or enter into any Enquiries, whether he had been cast into them by his own Fault, or the Practices of others. It was therefore thought fit to Entertain him frequently with Masks, and Dancings, brave Challenges at Tilts, and Barriers, and whatsoever Sports and Exercises, which they conceived most pleasing to him. But nothing seemed more delightfull to him, then the appearing of His Lords, and others in a General Muster, performed on the twenty third of *December*, in Saint *James* his Fields. At what time sitting on Horse-back with the Lords of His Council, the Band of Pensioners in compleat Arms, with four Trumpeters, and the King's Standard going before them, first appeared in sight: each Pensioner having two Servants waiting on him with their several Spears. Next followed, in distinct Companies of one hundred apiece, the Troops of the Lord Treasurer *Paulet*, the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Lord Privy Seal, the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports: a Trumpet and a Standard carried before each Troop; fourty of the Duke of *Northumberland's* Men, and as many of the Earl of *Pembroke's*, having Velvet Coats upon their Harness; with these were mingled in like Equipage, (as to the Trumpets, and the Standards) the distinct Troops of the Earls of *Rutland*, and *Huntington*, and the new Lord *Darcy*, consisting each of fifty Horse, and Ranked according to the Order, and Precedency of their several Lords. All which rode twice before the King, by five in a Rank, all excellently well Armed, and bravely Mounted, to the great Contentment of the King, the Delight of the People, and as much to the Honour of the Nation, in the Eye of all such Strangers, as were present at it. But then the Lords of *England*, were Lords indeed, and thought it not consistent with a Title of Honour, to walk the Streets, attended by a Lacqueie onely, and perhaps not that, The Particulars of which Glorious Muster had not been specified, but for supplying the Place of Musick, (as the Solemn Reception of the Queen Regent did before) betwixt the two last Acts of this Tragedy, to the last whereof we shall now come, and so end this year.

Two Moneths had passed since the Pronouncing of the Fatal Sentence of Condemnation, before the Prisoner was brought out to his Execution. In all which time it may be thought, that he might easily have obtained his Pardon of the King, who had passed the first years of His Reign under his Protection, and could not but behold him with the Eye of Respect, as his nearest Kinsman by the Mother. But first his Adversaries, had so possessed the King with an Opinion of his Crimes, and Misdemeanours, that he believed him to be guilty of them: as appears by his Letter to *Fitz-Patrick*, (for which Consult the Church Historian. Lib 7. fol. 409, 410.) wherein he Summarily repeateth the Substance of

An. Reg. 5.^o of the Charge, the Proofs against him, the Proceedings of the Lords in the Arraignment, and his Submits Carriage, both before, and after the Sentence. They also filled his Ears with the Continual Noise of the Unnatural Prosecuting of the late Lord Admiral; nunculating, how unsafe it was to trust to the Fidelity of such a Man, who had so lately washed his Hands in the Blood of his Brother. And, that the King might rest himself upon these Perswasions, all ways were stopped, and all the *Avenues* blocked up, by which it might be possible for any of the Duke's Friends to finde access, either for rectifying the King's Opinion, or obtaining his Pardon. So that at last, upon the twenty second of January before-remembered (the King not being sufficiently possessed before of his Crimes, and Cruelties) he was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*. Where he avouched to the People: That, *His Intentions had been not onely harmlesse, in regard of particular Persons, but driving to the Common Benefit, both of the King, and of the Realm.* Interrupted in the rest of his Speech, upon the suddain fear of a Rescue, by the coming in of the Hamlets on the one side, and the Hopes of a Pardon, which the People conceived to have been brought him by Sir *Anthony Brown*, who came speedily galloping on the other, he composed himself at last to make a Confession of his Faith, heartily praying for the King, exhorting the People to Obedience, and humbly craving Pardon both of God, and Man. Which said, he cheerfully submitted his Head to the stroke of the Ax, by which it was taken off at a Blow; putting an end thereby to his Cares and Sorrows.

Such was the End of this Great Person, whose Power and Greatness may be best discerned by this following Style, used by him in the Height of his former Glories: that is to say, "*Edward*, by the Grace of God, Duke of *Somerset*, "*Earl of Hertford*, Viscount *Beauchamp*, Baron *Seimour*, Uncle to the King's "*Highness of England*, Governour to the King's Highness Person, Protector "*of all his Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, Lieutenant General of His Majesty's Armies, both by Sea, and Land, Lord High Treasurer, and Earl Marshal "*of *England*, Captain of *Isles* of *Garnsey*, and *Jarsey*, and Knight of the most "*Honourable Order of the Garter.* As to his Parts, Person, and Abilitie, there needs no other Character of him, then what was given in the beginning, and may be gathered from the Cause of this present History. More Moderate in carrying on the Work of *Reformation*, then those, who after had the Managing, and Conduct of it, as one, that, in himself, was more inclinable to the *Lutheran* (but where his profit was concerned in the spoil of Images) then the *Zuinglian* Doctrines: so well beloved in general by the Common People, that divers dipt their Handkerchiefs in his Blood, to keep them in perpetual Remembrance of him. One of which, being a sprightly Dame, about two years after, when the Duke of *Northumberland* was led through the City, for his opposing the Title of Queen *Mary*, ran to him in the Streets, and, shaking out her bloody Handkerchief before him, *Behold* (said she) *the Blood of that worthy man, that good Uncle of that Excellent King, which shed, by thy malicious Practise, doth now begin apparently to revenge it self on thee.* The like Opinion also was conceived of the business by the most understanding men in the Court, and Kingdom; though the King seemed for the present to be satisfied in it. In which opinion they were exceedingly confirmed by the Enlargment of the Earl of *Arundel*, and restoring of *Craze*, and his Wife, to their former Liberty; but most especially by the great Endearments, which afterwards appeared between the Duke of *Northumberland* and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and the great confidence, which the Duke placed in him for the Advancement of his Projects, in behalf of the Duke of *Suffolk*: of which more hereafter.

But the Malice of his Enemies stayed not here, extending also to his Friends, and Children, after his Decease: but chiefly to the eldest Son by the second Wife; in favour of whom, an Act of Parliament had been passed in the thirty second year of the late King *Henry*, for the entailing on his Person all such Lands, Estates, and Honours, as had been, or should be purchased by his Fa-

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ther, from the twenty fifth day of *May*, then next foregoing. Which Act they caused to be repealed, at the end of the next Session of *Parliament* (which began on the morrow after the Death of the Duke) whereby they strip'd the young Gentleman, being then about thirteen years of Age, of his Lands, and Titles; to which he was in part restored by Queen *Elizabeth*: who, in pity of his Father's Sufferings, and his own Misfortunes, created him Earl of *Hertford*, Viscount *Beauchamp*, &c. Nor did the Duke's Fall end it self in no other ruin, then that of his own house, and the Death of the four Knights, which suffered on the same account; but drew along with it the removal of the Lord *Rich*, from the Place, and Office, of *Lord Chancellor*. For so it happened, that the Lord Chancellor, commiserating the Condition of the Duke of *Somerset*, though formerly he had shewed himself against him, dispatched a Letter to him, concerning some Proceedings of the *Lords* of the Council, which he thought fit for him to know. Which Letter being hastily superscribed, *To the Duke*, with no other Title, he gave to one of his Servants, to be carried to him. By whom, for want of a more particular direction, it was delivered to the hands of the Duke of *Norfolk*. But, the Mistake being presently found, the Lord Chancellor knowing into what hands he was like to fall, makes his Address unto the King, the next morning betimes; and humbly prays, that, in regard of his great Age, he might be discharged of the Great Seal, and Office of Chancellor. Which being granted by the King, though with no small difficulty; the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, (forward enough to go upon such an Errand) are sent, on the twenty first of *December*, to receive the Seal; committed on the morrow after to Doctor *Thomas Goodwin*, Bishop of *Ely*, and one of the *Lords* of the Privy Council. Who afterwards, that is to say, on the two and twentieth of *January*, was sworn Lord Chancellor; the Lord Treasurer *Paulet* giving him the Oath, in the Court of Chancery.

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Next followed the Losses, and Disgraces, suffered by the Lord *Paget*, on the Duke's account. To whom he had continued faithfull in all his Troubles; when Sir *William Cecil*, who had received greater Benefits from him, and most of the Dependants on him, had either deserted, or betrayed him. His House designed to be the place, in which the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the rest of the *Lords* were to be murdered at a Banquet: if any credit may be given to the Informations; for which Committed to the *Tower*, as before is said. But having no sufficient Proof, to warrant any further Proceeding to his Condemnation, an Enquiry is made not long after into all his Actions. In the return whereof, it was suggested, That he had sold the King's Lands, and Woods, without Commission; That he had taken great Fines for the King's Lands, and applyed them to his proper use; and That he had made Leases in Reversion, for more then one and twenty years. Which Spoyle is to be understood of the Lands and Woods of the *Duchy of Lancaster*, of the which he was Chancellor; and for committing whereof, he was not onely forced to resign that Office, but condemned in a fine of six thousand pounds; not otherwise to be excused, but by paying of four thousand pounds within the year. This Punishment, was accompanied with a Disgrace, no less grievous to him, then the loss both of his Place, and Money. He had been chosen into the Society of the *Garter*, An. 1548. when the Duke of *Somerset* was in Power, and so continued, till the fifteenth of *April*, in the year next following, Anno 1552. At what time *Garter*, King of Arms, was sent to his Lodging in the *Tower*, to take from him the *Garter*, and the *George*, belonging to him, as a Knight of that most Noble Order. Which he suffered willingly to be done, because it was His Majestie's Pleasure, that it should so be. More sensible of the Affront, without all question, then otherwise he would have been, because the said *George*, and *Garter*, were presently after sent, by the King to *John*, Earl of *Warwick*, the Duke of *Northumberland's* eldest Son, Admitted thereupon into that Society. So prevalent are the Passions of some

Great

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The like Ill-Fortune happened, at the ſame time alſo, to Doctour *Robert Farrar*, Biſhop of *St. David's*; who, as he had his Preferments by him, ſo he ſuffered alſo in his Fall: not becauſe Guilty of the Praſtice, or Conſpiracy with him, as the Lord *Paget*, and the reſt, were given out to be; but becauſe he wanted his Support, and Countenance, againſt his Adverſaries. A Man he was of an unfociable diſpoſition, rigidly ſelf-willed: and one, who looked for more Obſervance, than his place required; which drew him into a great diſlike with moſt of his Clergy, with none more, then the Canons of his own Cathedral. The Faction headed, amongſt others, by Doctour *Thomas Young*, then being the Chantour of that Church, and afterwards advanced by Queen *Elizabeth* to the See of *York*; as alſo Doctour *Rowland Merick*, preferred by the ſame Queen to the See of *Bangor*: though they appeared not viſibly in the Information, which was made againſt him. In which I finde him charged amongſt other things, for Celebrating a Marriage, without requiring the Married Perſons to receive the Communion, contrary to the Rubrick in the Common-Prayer Book; for going ordinarily abroad in a Gown, and Hat, and not in a Square Cap, as did the reſt of the Clergy; for cauſing a Communion-Table, which had been placed, by the Official of *Caer-marthen*, in the middle of the Church, (the High Altar being then demolished) to be carried back into the Chancel, and there to be diſpoſed of, in, or near the place, where the Altar ſtood; for ſuffering many Superſtitious Uſages to be retained amongſt the people, contrary to the Laws in that behalf: But chiefly for exerciſing ſome Acts of *Episcopal* Jurisdiction in his own name, in detogation of the King's Supremacy; and groundiſg his Commiſſions, for the exerciſe thereof, upon foreign, and uſurped Authority. The Articles, fifty ſix in number; but this laſt, as the firſt in Rank, ſo of more Danger to him, then all the reſt, preferred againſt him, but not proſecuted, as long as his great Patron, the Duke of *Sommerſet*, was in place, and Power. But, he being on the ſinking hand, and the Biſhop too riſt to come to a Compliance with thoſe, whom he eſteemed beneath him; the Suit is followed with more noiſe, and violence, then was conſiſtent with the credit of either Party. The Duke being dead, the four Knights Executed, and all his Party in Diſgrace, a Commiſſion is Iſſued, bearing Date the ninth of *March*, to enquire into the Merit of the Articles, which were charged againſt him. On the return whereof, he is Indicted of a *Premunire*, at the Aſſizes held in *Caer-marthen*, in the *July* following; committed thereupon to Priſon, where he remained all the reſt of King *Edward's* time; never reſtored to Liberty, till he came to the Stake, when all his Sufferings, and Sorrows, had an end together. But this Buſineſs hath carried us too far into the next year of this King: to the beginning whereof we muſt now return.

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WE muſt begin the ſixth year of the King with the fourth Seſſion of *Parliament*, though the beginning of the fourth Seſſion was ſome days before; that is to ſay, on the twenty third day of *January*, being the next day after the Death of that Great Perſon. His Adverſaries poſſibly could not do it ſooner, and found it very unſafe to defer it longer, for fear of being overruled in a *Parliamentary* way, by the Lords, and Commons. There was Sum-
moned

moned also a Convocation of the Bishops, and Clergy of the Province of *Cantebury*, to begin upon the next day after the *Parliament*. Much business done in each, as may appear by the Table of the Statutes made in the one, and the passing of the Book of Articles as the Work of the other. But the A&S of this Convocation were so ill kept, that there remains nothing on Record, touching their Proceedings, except it be the names of such of the Bishops, as came thither to Adjourn the House. Only I finde a *Memorandum*, that, on the twenty ninth of this present *January*, the Bishoprick of *Westminster* was dissolved, by the King's Letters Patents; by which the County of *Middlesex*, which had before been laid unto it, was reftored unto the See of *London*: made greater then in former times, by the Addition of the Arch-Deaconry of *St. Alban's*; which, at the dissolution of that Monastery, had been laid to *Lincoln*. The Lands of *Westminster* so dilapidated by Bishop *Thirlby*, that there was almost nothing left to support the Dignity; for which good service, he had been preferred to the See of *Norwich*, in the year foregoing. Most of the Lands invaded by the Great men of the Court, the rest laid out for Reparation to the Church of *St. Paul*; pared almost to the very quick, in those days of Rapine. From hence first came that significant By-word (as is said by some) of *Robbing Peter, to pay Paul*. But this was no Business of that Convocation, though remembered in it.

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That which most specially doth concern us in this Convocation, is the settling, and confirming of the Book of Articles, prepared by Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, with the assistance of such Learned men, as he thought fit to call unto him, in the year last past; and now presented to the consideration of the rest of the Clergy. For, that they were debated, and agreed upon in that Convocation, appears by the Title of the Book, where they are called, *Articuli, de quibus in Synodo Londinensi, An. Dom. 1552, &c.* that is to say, *Articles, Agreed upon in the Synod of London, An. 1552*. And it may be concluded from that Title also, that the Convocation had devolved their Power on some Grand Committee, sufficiently Authorised to Debate, Conclude, and Publish what they had Concluded in the name of the rest. For there it is not said, as in the Articles Published in Queen Elizabeth's time, *An. 1562. That they were agreed upon by the Arch-Bishops, and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at London*; but that they were agreed upon, in the Synod of London, by the Bishops, and certain other Learned Men; *inter Episcopos, & alios Eruditos viros*, as the Latin hath it. Which seems to make it plain enough, that the debating, and concluding of the Articles, contained in the said Book, was the Work onely of some Bishops, and certain other Learned men: sufficiently empowered for that end, and purpose. And being so empowered to that end and purpose, the Articles, by them concluded, and agreed upon, may warrantably be affirmed, to be the A&S, and Products of that Convocation; Confirmed, and Published for such by the King's Authority (as appears further by the Title *) in due form of Law. And so it is resolved by *Philpot*, Arch-Deacon of *Winchester*, in behalf of the Catechism, which came out *An. 1553.* with the Approbation of the said Bishops, and Learned men. Against which, when it was objected by Doctor *Weston*, Prolocutor of the Convocation, in the first of Queen *Mary*; that the said Catechism was not set forth by the Agreement of that House; it was Answered by that Reverend, and Learned man; That The said House had granted the Authority, to make Ecclesiastical Laws, unto certain Persons, to be appointed by the King's Majesty; and therefore, whatsoever Ecclesiastical Laws, they, or the most part of them did set forth, (according to the Statute in that behalf provided) might be well said to be done in the Synod of London.

And this may also be the Case of the Book of Articles, which may be truly, and justly said to be the Work of that Convocation: though many Members of it never saw the same, till the Book was published; in regard (I still use *Philpot's* words in the A&S and *Mon. Fol. 1282.*) that they had a Synodical Authority unto them committed, to make such Spiritual Laws, as to them seemed to be necessary.

(*) Regia Auctoritate in lucem Edita.

Irons in the Fire at once: not safe, in Point of Policy, to try Conclusions on a People in the King's Minority, which were so far tenaciously addicted to the Superstitions of the Church of Rome, and of a Nature not so tractable, as the English were. And yet that Realm was quiet, even to Admiration, notwithstanding the frequent Embroilments, and Commotions, which so miserably disturbed the Peace of England: which may be reckoned for one of the greatest Felicities of this King's Reign, and a strong Argument of the Care, and Vigilancy of such of His Ministers, as had the chief Direction of the Irish Affairs. At the first Payment of the Money for the Sale (rather than the Surrendry) of *Bulloign*: eight thousand pounds was set apart for the Service of Ireland; and shortly after out of the Profits, which were raised from the Mint, four hundred men were Levied, and sent over thither also; with a Charge given to the Governours, that the Laws of England should be Carefully, and Duly administered, and all such as did oppose, suppressed: by Means whereof great Countenance was given to those, who embraced the Reformed Religion there: especially within those Counties, which are called commonly by the name of the *English Pale*. The Common-Prayer-Book of England, being brought over thither, and used in most of the Churches of the English Plantation, without any Law in their own Parliaments to impose it on them. But nothing more conduced to the Peace of that Kingdom, then that the Governours for the most part were men of such Choice; that neither the Nobility disdained to endure their Commands, nor the inferior sort were oppressed, to supply their Wants. Besides which, as the King drew many men from thence to serve him in his Wars against France, and Scotland, which otherwise might have disturbed the common Peace; so, upon notice of some great Preparations, which were made in France for the Assistance of the Scots, he sent over to guard the Coast of Ireland, four Ships, four Barks, four Pinnaces, and twelve Victuallers. By the Advantage of which Strength, He made good three Havens, two on the South-side toward France, and one toward Scotland; which afterwards made themselves good Booties out of such of the French, as were either cast away on the Coast of Ireland, or forced to save themselves in the Havens of it. For the French making choice rather of their Passage by Saint George's Chanel, then by the ordinary Course of Navigation, from France, to *Edenborough*, fell from one Danger to another; and, for fear of being intercepted, or molested by the Ships of England, were Shipwrecked, as before was said, on the Coast of Ireland. Nothing else Memorable in this King's Reign, which concerned that Kingdom: and therefore I have laid it altogether in this Place, and on this Occasion.

But we return again to England, where we have seen a Reformation made in Point of Doctrine, and settled in the Forms of Worship; the Superstitions and corruptions of the Church of Rome entirely abrogated, and all things rectified, according to the Word of God, and the Primitive Practice: nothing defective in the Managing of so great a Work, which could have been required by equal and impartial Men, but that it was not done, as they conceived it ought to have been done, in a General Council. But first we finde not any such Necessity of a General Council, but that many Heresies had been suppressed, and many Corruptions removed out of the Church, without any such Trouble. Saint Augustine (*) in his fourth Book against the two Epistles of the Pelagians, cap. 12. speaks very plainly to this Purpose, and yet the Learned Cardinal, though a great Stickler in behalf of General Councils, speaks more plain then he. By whom it is affirmed, that for seven Heresies condemned in seven General Councils (though by his leave the seventh did not so much suppress, as advance an Heresie) an hundred had been quashed in National and Provincial Councils. The Practice of the Church in the several Councils of *Aquila*, *Carthage*, *Gangra*, *Milevis*, &c. make this plain enough; all of them being Provincial, or at least but National, and doing their own Work without Help from others. The Church had

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(*) *Paucas sufficit Hareses, ad quas superandas necessarium fuerit Concilium plerumque Occidentis, & Orientis, lib. 4. cap. 12.*

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been in an ill Condition, had it been otherwise; especially under the Power of the Heathen Emperours; when such a Confluence of the Prelats, from all Parts of the World, would have been construed a Conspiracy against the State, and drawn Destruction on the Church, and the Persons both. Or granting, that they might assemble without any such Danger, yet being great Bodies, moving slowly, and not without long time, and many Difficulties, and Disputes to be rightly Constituted: the Church would suffer more under such Delay, by the spreading of Heresie, then receive Benefit by this Care to suppress the same. So that there neither is, or can be, any such Necessity, either in Order to the Reformation of a National Church, or the Suppressing of particular Heresies, as by the Objectours is supposed.

Howsoever taking it for granted, that a *General Council* is the best and safest Physick, that the Church can take, on all Occasions of Epidemical Distempers; yet must it be granted at such times, and in such Cases onely, when it may conveniently be had. For where it is not to be had, or not had conveniently, it will either prove to be no Physick, or not worth the taking. But so it was, at the time of the Reformation, that a *General Council* could not conveniently be assembled, and more then so, it was impossible, that any such *Council* should assemble: I mean, a *General Council* rightly called, and constituted, according to the Rules laid down by our Controversers.

For first they say, It must be called by such as have Power to do it.

Secondly, That it must be intimated to all *Christian Churches*, that so no Church, nor People may plead Ignorance of it.

Thirdly, That the *Pope*, and the four chief *Patriarchs*, must be present at it, either in person, or by *Proxie*.

And lastly, That no Bishop be excluded, if he be known to be a Bishop, and not Excommunicated.

According to which Rules, it was impossible, I say, that any *General Council* should be assembled at the time of the Reformation of the Church of England. It was not then, as when the chief four *Patriarchs*, together with their *Metropolitan* and *Suffragan* Bishops, were under the Protection of the *Christian* Emperours, and might without Danger to themselves, or to their Churches, obey the Intimation, and attend the Service; the *Patriarchs*, with their *Metropolitans* and *Suffragans*, both then and now languishing under the Power and Tyranny of the *Turk*: to whom so general a Confluence of *Christian* Bishops must needs give matter of Suspicion of just Fears and Jealousies, and therefore not to be permitted (as far as he can possibly hinder it) on good Reason of State.

And then besides, it would be known by whom such a *General Council* was to be assembled: if by the *Pope*, as generally the *Papists* say, He, and his Court were looked on, as the greatest Grievance of the *Christian* Church, and it, was not probable, that he should call a Council against himself, unless he might have leave to pack it, to govern it by His own Legats, fill it with Titular Bishops of His own creating, or send the *Holy Ghost* to them in Cloak-Bag, as he did to Trent. If jointly, by all *Christian* Princes which is the Common Tenant of the *Protestant* Scholes: what Hopes could any man conceive (as the Times then were) that they should lay aside their particular Interesses, to enter all together upon one design? Or, if they had agreed about it, what Power had they to call the Prelats of the East, to attend the Business, and to protect them for so doing at their going home? So that I look upon the hopes of a *General Council*, I mean a *General Council* rightly called, and constituted, as an empty Dream. The most, that was to be expected, was but a meeting of some Bishops of the West of Europe, and those but of one Party onely: as such were excommunicated, (and that might be as many as the *Pope* should please) being to be excluded by the *Cardinal's* Rule. Which how it may be called an *Oecumenical*, or *General Council*, unless it be a *Topical-Oecumenical*, a *Particular-General* (as great an Absurdity in Grammar, as a *Roman-Catholic*) I can hardly see: Which being so, and so no question

tion, but it was, either the Church must have continued without Reformation, or else it must be lawfull for National particular Churches to Reform themselves. And in that case the Church may be Reformed *per partes*, part after part; Province after Province, as is said by *Gerfon*. Further then which, I shall not enter into this Dispute, this being enough to Justifie the Church of England from doing any thing Unadvisedly, Unwarrantably, or without Example.

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That which remains, in Reference to the Progress of the Reformation, concerns as well the Nature, as the Number of such Feasts, and Fasts, as were thought fit to be retained, Determined, and Concluded on, by an Act of Parliament; to which the Bishops gave their Vote: but whether Predetermined in the Convocation, must be left as doubtfull. In the Preamble to which Act, it is Declared; That, At all times men are not so mindfull of performing those Publick Christian Duties, which the true Religion doth require, as they ought to be, and therefore it hath been wholesomely provided, that for calling them to their Duties and for helping their Infirmities, that some certain Times, and Days should be appointed, wherein Christians should cease from all other kinde of Labours, and apply themselves only, and wholly unto such Holy Works, as properly pertain to True Religion; that the said Holy Works, to be performed upon those Days, are more particularly to hear, to learn, and to remember Almighty God's great Benefits, his manifold Mercies, his insensible Gracious Goodness, so plentifully poured upon all his Creatures; rendering unto him for the same our most hearty thanks: That the said Days, and Times, are neither to be called, or accounted Holy: neither in the Nature of the time, or day, nor for any of the Saints sakes, whose Memories are preserved by them; but for the Nature, and Condition, of those Godly, and Holy Works, with which only God is to be Honoured, and the Congregation to be Edified; That the Sanctifying of the said Days consisteth in separating them apart from all profane uses, and Dedicated not to any Saint, or Creature, but only to the Worship of God; That there is no certain time, nor definite number of days appointed by Holy Scripture: but, that the appointment of the time, as also of the days, is left to the Liberty of Christ His Church by the Word of God; That the days, which from thenceforth were to be kept as Holy days in the Church of England, should be all Sundays in the Year; the Feast of the Circumcision, the Epiphany, the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, &c. with all the rest, recited at the end of the Calender, in the publick Liturgy; That the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. shall have Authority to punish the Offenders, in all, or any of the Premises, by the usual censures of the Church, and to impose such penance on them, as to them, or any of them shall seem expedient; and finally, that, notwithstanding any thing before declared, it shall, and may be lawfull, for any Husbandman, Labourer, Fisherman, &c. to labour, ride, fish, or work any kind of work, on the foresaid Holy days, not only in the time of Harvest, but at any other time of the year, when need shall require; with a Proviso for the Celebrating of St. George's Feast, on the two and twenty, three and twenty, and four and twentieth Days of April yearly, by the Knights of the Right Honourable Order of the Garter, or by any of them. Which Declaration, as it is agreeable in all points to the Tenour of approved Antiquity; so can there nothing be more contrary to the Doctrine of the Sabbatharians, which of late time hath been Obtruded on the Church.

Then for the number of the Fasts, It is Declared, that from that time forwards, every Even, or Day, going before any of the aforesaid Days of the Feasts of the Nativity of Our Lord, of Easter, of the Ascension of our Lord, Pentecost, of the Purification, and the Annunciation of the aforesaid Blessed Virgin; of All-Saints, of all the said Feasts of the Apostles, (other then of St. John the Evangelist, and of St. Philip and Jacob) shall be fasted, and Commanded to be kept, and observed, and that none other Even, or Day, shall be Commanded to be Fasted. For Explication of which last Clause, it is after added, that the said Act, or any thing therein contained, shall not extend to abrogate, or take away the Abstinence from Flesh in Lent, or on Fridays, and Saturdays: or any other appointed

not long after (I know not by what strange forwardness in them that did it) the Upper Quire in St. Paul's Church, where the High-Altar stood, was broken down, and all the Quire therabouts; and the Communion-Table was placed in the Lower Part of the Quire, where the Priest sang the Dayly Service. What hereupon ensued of the Rich Ornaments, and Plate, wherewith every Church was furnished after its proportion; we shall see shortly, when the King's Commissioners shall be sent abroad to seise upon them in His Name, for their own Commodity.

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About this time the *Psalms* of David did first begin to be Composed in English Meeter, by one Thomas Sternhold, one of the Grooms of the Privy-Chamber; who, Translating no more then thirty seven, left both Example, and Encouragement to John Hopkins, and others, to dispatch the rest. A Device first taken up in France, by one Clement Marot, one of the Grooms of the Bed-Chamber to King Francis the First: who, being much addicted to Poetry, and having some acquaintance with those, which were thought to have inclined to the Reformation, was persuaded by the Learned Vatablus (Professour of the Hebrew Tongue in the University of Paris) to exercise his Poetical Fancies, in Translating some of David's *Psalms*. For whose satisfaction, and his own, he Translated the first fifty of them; and after, flying to Geneva, grew acquainted with Beza who, in some tract of time, Translated the other hundred also; and caused them to be fitted unto several Tunes; which hereupon began to be Sung in private houses, and by degrees to be taken up in all the Churches of the French, and other Nations, which followed the Genevian Plat-form. Marot's Translation said by Strada, to have been ignorantly, and perversely done: as being but the Work of a man, altogether unlearned; but not to be compared with that Barbarity, and Botching, which every where occurreth in the Translation of Sternhold, and Hopkins. Which notwithstanding being first allowed for private Devotion, they were by little, and little, brought into the use of the Church: Permitted rather, then Allowed to be Sung before, and after Sermons; afterwards Printed, and bound up with the Common-Prayer-Book, and at last added by the Stationers at the end of the Bible. For, though it be expressed in the Title of those Singing *Psalms*, that they were set forth, and allowed to be Sung in all Churches; before, and after Morning, and Evening Prayer: and also before, and after Sermons; yet, this Allowance seems rather to have been a Connivance, then an Approbation: No such Allowance being any where found, by such as have been most Industrious, and concerned in the search thereof. At first it was, pretended onely that the said *Psalms* should be Sung before, and after Morning, and Evening Prayer, and also before, and after Sermons: which shews, they were not to be intermingled in the Publick Liturgie. But, in some tract of time, as the Puritan Faction grew in strength, and confidence, they prevailed so far in most places, to thrust the *Te Deum*, the *Benedictus*, the *Magnificat*, and the *Nunc Dimittis*, quite out of the Church. But of this more perhaps hereafter, when we shall come to the Discovery of the Puritan Practices, in the Times succeeding.

Next to the business of Religion, that which took up a great part of the Publick Care, was the Founding, and Establishing of the new Hospital in the late dissolved House of Grey-Friers, near New-gate, in the City of London; and that of St. Thomas in the Borough of Southwark. Concerning which we are to know, that the Church, belonging to the said House, together with the Cloysters, and almost all the Publick Building, which stood within the Liberties, and Precincts thereof, had the good Fortune to escape that Ruin, which Generally befell all other Houses of that Nature. And standing undemolished, till the last Times of King Henry, it was given by him, not many days before His Death, to the City of London: together with the late dissolved Priory, called Little St. Bartholomew's; which, at the Suppression thereof, was valued at 305. pounds, 6. s. 7. d. In which Donation, there was Reference had to a Double End. The

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An. Reg. 6^o 1552. one for the Relieving of the Poor, out of the Rents of such Messuages, and Tenements, as in the Grant thereof are contained, and specified. The other for Constituting a Parish-Church, in the Church of the said dissolved *Grey-Friers*: not onely for the use of such, as lived within the Precincts of the said two Houses; but for the Inhabitants of the Parishes of Saint *Nicholas in the Shambles*, and of Saint *Ewines*, situate in *Warwick-Lane-end*, near *New-gate Market*. Which Churches, with all the Rents, and Profits, belonging to them, were given to the City at the same time also, and for advancing the same ends, together with five hundred Marks by the year for ever; the Church of the *Grey-Friers* to be from thenceforth called *Christ-Church*, Founded by King *Henry the Eighth*. All which was signified to the City in a Sermon Preached at Saint *Pauls-Cross*, by the Bishop of *Rochester*, on the thirteenth of *January*; being no more then a Fortnight before the death of the King: so that He wanted not the Prayers of the Poor, at the Time of His Death, to serve as a Counter-Balance for those many Curses, which the poor Monks, and Friars had bestowed upon Him in the Time of His Life.

In pursuance of this double Design, the Church of the said *Friers* (which had before served as a Magazine, or Store-house for such *French-Wines*, as had been taken by Reprise) was cleansed, and made fit for Holy uses, and Mass again sang in it on the thirteenth day of *January* before remembred, resorted to by such Parishioners as were appointed to it by the King's Donation. After which followed (in the first years of King *Edward the Sixth*) the taking down of the said two Churches, and building several Tenements, on the Ground of the Churches, and Church-Yards, the Rents thereof to be employed for the further maintenance, and Relief of the poor, living and loytering in, and about the City, to the great Dishonour of the same. But neither the first Grant of the King, nor these new Additions, being able to carry on the work to the end desired, it happened, that Bishop *Ridley*, preaching before the King, did much insist upon the settling of of some constant course for Relief of the Poor. Which Sermon wrought so far upon Him, that He caused the Bishop to be sent for, gave him great Thanks for his good Exhortation; and thereupon entred into Communication with him, about the devising of some Course, by which so great, and good a Work should be brought to pass. His Advice was, That Letters should be written to the Lord Mayour, and Aldermen, for taking the Business into Consideration, in Reference to such Poor, as swarmed in great numbers about the City. To which the King so readily hearkened, that the Letters were dispatched, and Signed, before He would permit the Bishop to go out of His Presence. Furnished with these Letters, and Instructions, the Bishop calls before him Sir *Richard Dobbs*, then Lord Mayour of *London*, with so many Aldermen, as were thought fit to be advised with in the present Business, By whom it was agreed upon, That a General Contribution should be made by all wealthy, and well-affected Citizens, towards the Advancement of a work so necessary for the publick good. For the effecting whereof, they were all called to their Parish-Churches, where by the said Lord Mayour, their several Aldermen, and other grave Citizens, they were by Eloquent Orations, perswaded, how great, and how many Commodities, would ensue unto them, and their City; if the Poor of divers sorts were taken from out their Streets, Laner, and Allyes, and were bestowed, and provided for in several Hospitals. It was therefore moved, that every man would signifie what they would grant, towards the preparing, and furnishing of such Hospitals, as also, what they would contribute weekly towards their Maintenance untill they were furnished with a more Liberal Endowment. Which Course prevailed so far upon them, that every man subscribed, according to his Ability, and Books were drawn in every Ward of the City, containing the Sum of that Relief: which they had contributed. Which being delivered unto the Mayour, were by Him humbly tendred to the King's Commissioners on the seventeenth of *Februa-ry*.

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This good Foundation being laid, a Beginning was put to the Reparation of the decayed Buildings, in the *Gray-Friers*, on the twenty sixth of July, for the Reception of such poor, fatherless Children, as were then to be provided for at the publick Charge. The like Reparation also made of the Ruinous Buildings belonging to the late dissolved *Priory* of Saint *Thomas* in the Burrough of *Southwark*, which the Citizens had then newly bought of the King, to serve for an Hospital of such Wounded, Sick, and Impotent Persons, as were not fit to be intermingled with the Sound. The Work so diligently followed in both places at once, that on the twenty third of November, the sick and maimed People were taken into the Hospital of Saint *Thomas*, and into *Christ-Hospital* to the number of four hundred Children; all of them to have Meat, Drink, Lodging, and Cloths, at the Charge of the City, till other means could be provided for their future Maintainance.

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And long it was not, before such further Means was provided for them, by the Bounty, and Piety of the King; then drawing as near unto his End, as his Father was, when he laid the first Foundation of that Pious Work. For bearing with what cheerfulness the Lord Major, and Aldermen, had conformed themselves to the effect of His former Letters, and what a great advance they had made in the Work, commanded them to attend Him on the tenth of April, gave them great thanks for their Zeal and forwardness, and gave for ever to the City his Palace of *Bridewel* (erected by King *Henry the Eighth*) to be employed as a relieving house for such Vagabonds, and thriftless Poor, as should be sent thither to receive Chastisement, and be forced to labour. For the better maintainance whereof, and the more liberal Endowment of the other Hospitals before remembered, it was suggested to him, that the Hospital founded in the *Savoy* by King *Henry the seventh*, for the Relief of Pilgrims and Travellers, was lately made the Harbour, or relieving Place for Loyerers, Vagabonds, and Strumpets, who sunned themselves in the Fields all Day, and at Night found entertainment there. The Master and Brethren of the House are thereupon sent for to the King, who dealt so powerfully and effectually with them, that they resigned the same into His Hands, with all the Lands, and Goods thereunto belonging. Out of which He presently bestowed the Yearly Rent of Seven Hundred Marks, with all the Beds, Bedding, and other Furniture, which he found therein, towards the maintainance of the said Work-House, and the Hospital of *St. Thomas* in *Southwark*. The Grant whereof He confirmed by His Letters Patents, bearing Date the 26th of June; adding thereunto a *Mort-Main* for enabling the City to purchase Lands, to the value of four thousand Marks *per annum*, for the better maintainance of those, and the other Hospitals. So that by the Donation of *Bridewel*, which He never built, and the suppression of the Hospital in the *Savoy*, which He never endowed, He was entituled to the Foundation of *Bridewel*, *St. Bartholomew's*, and *St. Thomas*, without any charge unto himself.

But these last Passages concerning the Donation of *Bridewel*, the suppression of the Hospital in the *Savoy*, and the Endowment of the said three Houses with the Lands thereof, hapned not till the year ensuing, Anno 1553. though laid unto the rest in the present Narrative, in regard of the Dependence, which it hath on the former Story. Nothing else memorable in the course of this present Year, but the coming of *Cardanus*, the death of *Leland*, and the preferment of Doctor *John Taylor* to the See of *Lincoln*. The See made void by the death of Doctor *Henry Holbeach*, about the beginning of August, in the former year, and kept void, by some powerful men about the King, till the 26th of June, in the year now present. At what time, the said Doctor *Taylor*, who before had been Dean of that Church, was Consecrated Bishop of it. During which interval, the Patrimony of that great and wealthy Bishoprick (one of the richest in the Kingdom) was so dismembered in it self, so parcelled, and marked out for a Prey to others, that when the New Bishop was to be restored unto his Temporals, under the Great Seal of *England*, (as the Custom is) there was none of all his Ma-

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ours reserved for him, but his Manour of *Bugden*, together with some Farms and Improvements, toward the support of his Estate: The rest was to be raised out of the profits, perquisites, and emoluments of his Jurisdiction; yet so, that nothing was to be abated in his Tenths, and first-fruits, which were kept up according to the former value.

As for *John Leland*; for whose death I finde this year assigned: he had his Education in *Christ's Colledge in Cambridge*. Being a man of great parts, and indefatigable industry, he was employed by King *Henry the Eighth* to search into the Libraries, and Collect the Antiquities of Religious Houses, at such time, as they lay under the fear of suppression. Which work as he performed with more then Ordinary Diligence, so was he encouraged thereunto by a very Liberal Exhibition, which he received annually from the late King *Henry*. But the King being dead, his Exhibition, and encouragements, dyed also with him. So that the Lump of his life being destitute of the Oyl, which fed it, after it had been in a languishing condition all the rest of his King's Reign was this year unfortunately Extinct: Unfortunatly, in regard that he dyed distracted to the great Grief of all that knew him, and the no small sorrow of many, who never saw him, but only in his painful, and laborious Writings. Which Writings, being by him Presented to the hands of King *Henry*, came afterwards into the power of *Sr. John Cheek*, Schoole-master, and Secretary for the *Latine* tongue to the King now Reigning. And though collected Principally for the use of the Crown, yet, on the death of the young King, his Tutor kept them to himself as long as he lived, and left them at his death to *Henry* his Eldest Son, Secretary to the Council Established at *York*, for the *Northern* parts. From *Cheek*, but not without some intermediate conveyances, four of them came into the possession of *William Burton* of *Leicester shire*; who having served his turn of them as well as he could in his description of that County, bestowed them, as a most choise Rarity upon *Oxford Library*, where the Originals still remain. Out of this Treasury wherest it remained entire in the hands of *Cheek*, the learned *Camden* was supplied with much Excellent matter toward the making up of his description of the Isles of *Britain*; but not without all due acknowledgment to his Benefactor, whom he both frequent citech, and very highly commendeth for his pains and industry.

In the last place comes *Cardanus*, an eminent Philosopher, born in *Italy*, and one not easily over matched by the then supposed Matchless *Scaliger*, having composed a Book, Entituled *De varietate Rerum* with an Epistle Dedicatory to King *Edward the Sixth* he came over this year into *England* to present it to him; which gave him the Occasion of much conference with Him. In which he found such dexterity in Him for Encountering many of his Paradoxes in natural Philosophy, that he seemed to be astonished between Admiration, and Delight, and divulged his Abilities to be miraculous. Some Passages of which discourse *Cardanus* hath left upon Record in these words ensuing. *Decimum quintum, aabne agebat Annum, cum interrogabunt Latine &c.* Being yet (saith he) but of the age of fifteen years he asked me in *Latine* (in which tongue he uttered his mind no less eloquently, and readily, then I could do my self) what my Book, which I had dedicated unto him, *De varietate Rerum*, did contain? I answered, that in the first Chapter was shewed the cause of Comets, or blazing-stars, which hath been long sought for, and hitherto scarce fully found. What cause (sayd he) is that? The concourse or meeting of the light of the wandering Planets, or Stars. To this the King thus replied again, For as much (saith he) as the motion of the Stars keepeth not one course, but is diverse and variable by continual Alteration, how is it then that the cause of these Comets doth not quickly vade or vanish, or that the Comet doth not keep one certain and uniform course, and motion, with the said stars and Planets? Whereunto I answered, that it moved indeed, but with a far swifter motion then the Planets, by reason of the diversity

versity of Aspects, as we see in Christal, and the Sun, when a Rainbow rebounds on a Wall, for a little change makes a great difference of the place. The King rejoyned, How can that be done without a Subject? as the Wall is the Subject to the Rainbow. To which I answered, That as in the Galaxia, or Via lactea, and in the Reflection of Lights, when many are set near one another, they do produce a certain Lucid and bright Mean. Which Conference is thus shut up by that Learned Man, That he began to favour Learning, before he could know it; and knew it, before he could tell what use he had of it: And then bemoans his short life, in these words of the Poet,

*Immodicis brevis est Etas, & rara Senectus.*

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SUCH being the excellent Abilities of this hopeful Prince in Matters of Abstract Learning, there is no question to be made, but that he was the Master of so much Perspicacity in his own Affairs, (as indeed he was, which might produce both Love, and Admiration in the Neighbouring Princes: Yet such was the Rapacity of the Times, and the Unfortunateness of his Condition, that his Minority was abused to many Acts of Spoil, and Rapine (even to an high degree of Sacrilege) to the raising of some, and the enriching of others, without any manner of improvement to his own Estate. For, notwithstanding the great and most inestimable Treasures which must needs come in, by the spoil of so many Shrines, and Images, the sale of all the Lands belonging to *Chantries, Colleges, Free Chapel, &c.* And the Dilapidating of the Patrimony of so many Bishopricks, and Cathedral Churches; he was not onely plunged in Debt, but the Crown-Lands were much diminished, and impaired, since his coming to it. Besides which spoils, there were many other helps, and some great ones too, of keeping him both before-hand, and full of Money, had they been used to his Advantage. The Lands of divers of the Halls, and Companies in London, were charged with Annual Pensions, for the finding of such Lights, *Obits*, and Chantry-Priests, as were founded by the Donours of them. For the redeeming whereof, they were constrained to pay the sum of Twenty Thousand Pounds to the use of the King, by an Order from the Council-Table; not long before the payment of the first Money for the sale of *Boloign Anno 1550.* And somewhat was also paid by the City, to the King, for the Purchase of the Borough of *Southwark*, which they bought of him the next year. But the main glut of Treasure was that of the four hundred thousand Crowns, amounting in our Money to 133333 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* paid by the *French King*, on the surrendry of the Town, and Territory of *Boloign*, before remembered. Of which vast sum, (but small, in reference to the loss of so great a strength) no less then fourscore thousand pounds was laid up in the Tower, the rest assigned, to publick uses for the peace and safety of the Kingdom. Not to say any thing of that great Yearly Profit, which came in from the Mint, after the intercourse settled betwixt Him and the King of *Sweden*, and the decaying so much Base Money, had begun to set the same on work. Which great Advantages notwithstanding, He is now found to be in Debt to the *Bankers of Antwerp* & elsewhere, no less then 250000 *l.* of *English* money. Towards which, the sending of his own Ambassadors into *France*, and the entertainment of the *French*, when they were in *England*, (the onely two great Charges, which we finde Him at in the whole course of His Reign) must be inconsiderable.

It was to no purpose for Him to look too much backward, or to trouble Himself with enquiring after the ways, and means, by which He came to be involved in so great a Debt. It must be now his own care, and the endeavours of those, who plunged Him in it, to finde the speediest way for His getting out.

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And first they fall upon a course to lessen the Expenses of His Court and Family, by suppressing the Tables formerly appointed for young Lords, the Masters of the Requests, Serjeant at Arms, &c. which though it saved some money, yet it brought in none. In the next place, it was resolved, to call such Officers to a present and publick Reckoning, who either had enbezelled any of the Crownlands, or inverted any of the King's Money to their private use. On which course they were the more intent, because they did both serve the King, and content the People: but might be used By them as a Scourge, for the whipping of those, against whom they had any cause of quarrel. Amongst which, I finde the new Lord Paget to have been fined six thousand pound (as before was said) for divers Offences of that nature, which were charged upon him. Beaumont, then Master of the Rolls, had purchased Lands with the King's Money, made longer Leases of some other Crown Lands, then he was authorized to do by his Commission, and was otherwise guilty of much corrupt and fraudulent dealing. For expiating of which Crimes, he surrendered all his Lands and Goods to the King, and seems to have been well befriended, that he sped no worse. The like Offences proved against one *Whaley*, one of the King's Receivers for the County of York; for which he was punished with the loss of his Offices, and adjudged to stand to any such Fine, as by his Majesty, and the Lords of his Council should be set upon him. Which manner of proceeding, though it be for the most part pleasing to the Common People, and profitable to the Common-Wealth; yet were it more unto the honour of a Prince, to make choice of such Officers, whom He thinks not likely to offend, then to sacrifice them to the People, and His own Displeasures, having thus offended.

But the main Engine at this time for advancing Money, was the speeding of a Commission into all parts of the Realm, under pretence of selling such of the Lands & Goods of Chanterys, &c. as remained unfold; but, in plain truth, to seize upon all Hangings, Altar-Cloths, Fronts, Parafronts, Copes of all sorts, with all manner of Plate, which was to be found in any Cathedral, or Parochial Church. To which Rapacity the demolishing of the former Altars, and placing the Communion Table in the middle of the Quires, or Chancels of every Church, (as was then most used) gave a very good hint, by rendring all such Furnitures, rich Plate, and other costly Utensils, in a manner useless. And that the business might be carried with as much advantage to the King as might be, He gave out certain Instructions under his Hand, by which the Commissioners were to regulate themselves in their Proceedings, to the advancement of the service. Amongst which, pretermittting those, which seem to be Preparatories onely unto all the rest, I shall put down as many, as I think material: And that being done, it shall be left to the Reader's Judgment, whether the King, being now in the sixteenth year of his Age, were either better studied in his own Concernments, or seemed to be worse principled in Matters, which concerned the Church. Now the most Material of the said Instructions were these, that follow.

1. The said Commissioners shall, upon their view and survey taken, cause due Inventories to be made by Bills or Books indented, of all manner of Goods, Plates, Jewels, Bells, and Ornaments, as yet remaining, or any wise forthcoming, and belonging to any Churches, Chapels, Fraternities, or Gilds; and one part of the said Inventories to send and return to Our Privy Council, and the other to deliver to them, in whose hands the said Goods, Plate, Jewels, Bells, and Ornaments, shall remain, to be kept, and preserved. And they shall also give good Charge and Order, that the same Goods, and every part thereof, be at all times forthcoming to be answered; leaving nevertheless in every Parish-Church, or Chapel, of common resort, one, two, or more Chalice, or Cups, according to the multitude of People, in every such Church, or Chapel; and also such other Ornaments, as by their discretion shall seem requisite for the Divine Service, in every such place for the time.

2. That



2. That because Information hath been made, that in many Places great quantities of the said Plate, Bells, Jewels, Ornaments, hath been embazelled by certain private men, contrary to his Majesty's express Commandment in that behalf, the said Commissioners shall substantially, and justly enquire, and attain the knowledge thereof: by whose default the same is, or hath been, or in whose hands any part of the same is come. And in that point, the said Commissioners shall have good regard that they attain to certain Names, and dwelling Places of every person, or persons, that hath sold, alienated, embazelled, taken, or carryed away; or of such also, as have counselled, advised, and commanded any part of the said Goods, Plate, Jewels, Bells, Vestments, and Ornaments, to be taken, or carryed away or otherwise embazelled. And these things they shall as certainly, and duly, as they can, cause to be searched, and understood.

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3. That upon full search and enquiry thereof, the said Commissioners, four, or three of them, shall cause to be called before them all such persons, by Whom any of the said Goods, Plate Jewels, Bells, Ornaments, or any other see Premises, have been alienated, embazelled, and taken away; or by whose means, and procurement, the same, or any part thereof hath been attempted, or to whose hands, or use, any of the same, or any profit for the same hath grown. And by such means, as to their discretions shall seem best, cause them to bring into these the said Commissioners hands, to Our use, the said Plate, Jewels, Bells, and other the Premises so alienated, for the true and full value thereof: certifying unto Our Privy Council the Names of all such as refuse to stand to, or obey their Order touching their delivery, or restitution of the same, or the just value thereof. To the intent, that, as cause and reason shall require, every man may answer to his doings in this behalf.

4. To these another Clause was added, touching the moderation, which they were to use in their Proceedings; to the end, that the effect of their Commission might go forward with as much quiet, and as little occasion of trouble, or disquiet to the Multitude, as might be; using therein such wise persuasions, as in respect of the place, and disposition of the People, may seem to their Wisdoms most expedient: yet so, that they take care for giving good and substantial Order to stay the inordinate and greedy Covetousness of such disordered People, as should go about to alienate any of the Premises, or otherwise to let them know, that according to Reason, and Order, such as have, or should contemptuously offend in that behalf, should receive such punishment, as to the quality of their doing should be thought most requisite.

Such were the Faculties, and Instructions, wherewith the Kings Commissioners were impowered and furnished. And doubt we not, but that they were as punctual and exact in the execution: which cannot better be discerned, then by that, which is reported of their doings generally in all parts of the Realm, and more particularly in the Church of St. Peter in Westminster, more richly furnished, by reason of the Poms of Coronations, Funerals, and such like Solemnities, then any other in the Kingdome. Concerning which I find, in an old Chapter-Book belonging to it, that on May the 9. 1553. Sir Roger Cholmley Knight, Lord Chief Justice, and Sir Robert Bowes Knight, Master of the Rolls, the King's Commissioners, for gathering Ecclesiastical Goods, held their Session at Westminster, and called before them the Dean of that Cathedral, and certain others of the same House, and commanded them, by virtue of their Commission, to bring to them a true Inventory of all the Plate, Cups, Vestments, and other Ecclesiastical Goods, which belonged to their Church. Which done, the Twelfth Day of the same Moneth, they sent John Hodges, Robert Smalwood, and Edmund Beif, of the City of Westminster, (whom the said Commissioners had made their Collectors) with a Commandment to the Dean and Chapter, for the delivery of the said Goods; which were by Robert Crome Clerk, Sexton of the said Church, delivered to the said Collectors, who left no more unto the Church, then two Cuns,

with

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 1553. with the Covers all gilt; One white Silver Pot, Three Herse-Cloths, Twelve Cushions, One Carpet for the Table, Eight Stall-Cloths for the Quire, Three Pulpit-Cloths, Nine little Carpets for the Dean's Stall, Two Table-Cloths: the rest of all the rich Furniture, massie Plate, and whatsoever else was of any value, (which questionless must needs amount to a very great Sum) was seized on by the said Collectors, and clearly carried away by Order, from the said Commissioners. The like done generally in all the other parts of the Realm, into which the Commissioners began their Circuits in the Moneth of *April*, as soon as the ways were open, and fit for Travail. Their business was to seize upon all the Goods remaining in any Cathedral, or Parish-Churches, all Jewels of Gold, and Silver, Crosses, Candlesticks, Censers, Chalices, and such like, with their ready Money: As also, all Copes, and Vestments of Cloth of Gold, Tyssue, and Silver, together with all other Copes, Vestments, and Ornaments, to the same belonging. Which general seizure being made, they were to leave one Chalice, with certain Table-Cloths, for the use of the Communion-Board, as the said Commissioners should think fit: the Jewels Plate, and ready Money, to be delivered to the Master of the King's Jewels in the Tower of *London*; the Cope of Cloth of Gold, and Tyssue, to be brought into the King's Wardrobe; the rest to be turned into ready Money, and that Money to be paid to Sir *Edmond Peckam*, the King's Cofferer, for the defraying of the Charges of His Majestie's Household.

But notwithstanding this great Care of the King on the one side, and the double-diligence of his Commissioners on the other, the Booty did not prove so great, as the Expectation. In all great Fairs, and Markets, there are some *Fore-stallers*, who get the best Penny-worths to themselves, and suffer not the Richest and most gainful Commodities to be openly sold. And so it fared also in the present Business, there being some, who were as much before-hand with the King's Commissioners in embezzelling the said Plate, Jewels, and other Furnitures, as the Commissioners did intend to be with the King, in keeping always most part unto themselves. For when the Commissioners came to execute their Powers in their several Circuits, they neither could discover all, or recover much of that, which had been purloined; some things being utterly embezzled by Persons not responsible; in which Case, the King, as well as the Commissioners, was to lose his Right: but more concealed by Persons not detectable, who had so cunningly carryed the stealth, that there was no tracing of their Foot-steps. And some there were, who, being known to have such Goods in their possession, conceived themselves too Great to be called in question; connived at willingly by those, who were but their Equals, and either were, or meant to be Offenders in the very same kind. So that although some Profit was hereby raised to the King's Exchequer; yet the far greater part of the Prey came to other hands: Inasmuch, that many private men's Parlours were hung with Altar-Cloths, their Tables, and Beds covered with Copes, instead of Carpets, and Coverlids; and many made Carousing Cups of the Sacred Chalices, as once *Belshazzar* celebrated his Drunken Feast in the Sanctified Vessels of the Temple. It was a sorry House, and not worth the naming, which had not somewhat of this Furniture in it, though it were onely a fair large Cushion made of a Cope, or Altar-Cloth, to adorn their Windows, or make their Chairs appear to have somewhat in them of a *Chair of State*. Yet how contemptible were these Trappings, in comparison of those vast sums of Money, which were made of Jewels, Plate, and Cloth of Tyssue, either conveyed beyond the Seas, or sold at home, and good Lands purchased with the Money; nothing the more blessed to the Posterity of them, that bought them, for being purchased with the Consecrated Treasures of so many Temples.

But

But as the King was plunged in Debt, without being put to any extraordinary Charges in it, so was he decayed in his Revenue, without selling any part of His Crown Lands towards the payment of His Debts. By the suppressing of some, and the surrendering of other Religious Houses, the Royal *Entrado* was so much increased in the late King's time; that, for the better managing of it, the King erected first the Court of *Augmentation*, and afterwards the Court of *Surveysors*. But in short time, by His own Profuseness, and the Avaritiousness of this King's Ministers, it was so retrenched, that it was scarce able to finde Work enough for the Court of *Exchequer*. Hereupon followed the dissolving of the said two Courts in the last Parliament of this King, beginning on the first, and ending on the last day of *March*. Which, as it made a loud noise in the Ears of the People, so did it put this Jealousie into their Minds. That, if the King's Land should be thus daily wasted without any recruit, He must at last prove burthenfom to the common Subject. Some course is therefore to be thought on, which might pretend to an increase of the King's Revenue, and none more easie to be compassed, then to begin with the suppression of such Bishopricks, and Collegiate Churches, as either lay furthest off, or might best be spared. In reference whereunto, it was concluded, in a Chapter held at *Westminster*, by the Knights of the Garter, That from thenceforth the said most noble Order of the Garter should be no longer entituled by the Name of St. *George*, but that it should be called the Order of the Garter onely; and that the Feast of the said Order should be celebrated upon *Whitsun-Eve*, *Whitsun-day*, and *Whitsun-Monday*, and not on St. *George's* day, as before it was. And to what end was this concluded; and what else was to follow upon this Conclusion, but the dissolving of the Free-Chapel of St. *George* in the Castle of *Windsoer*, and the transferring of the Order to the Chapel of King *HENRY* the Seventh, in the Abbey of *Westminster*? Which had undoubtedly been done, and all the Lands thereof converted to some powerful Courtiers, under pretence of laying them to the Crown, if the King's Death, which happened within four Moneths after, had not prevented the Design, and thereby respited that Ruin, which was then intended.

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The like preservation happened, at the same time also, in the Church of *Durham*, as liberally endowed as the most, and more amply privileged, then the best in the King's Dominions. The Bishops hereof by Charter, and long Prescription, enjoyed and exercised all the Rights of a *County Palatine* in that large Tract of Ground, which lyes between the *Tees*, and the *Tine*, best known in those Parts by the Name of the *Bishoprick*; the Diocess containing also all *Northumberland*, of which the Bishops, and the *Percies*, had the greatest Shares. No sooner was Bishop *Toussal* committed to the Tower, which was on the Twentieth of *December*, 1551. but presently an Eye was cast upon his Possessions. Which, questionless, had followed the same fortune with the rest of the Bishopricks, if one, more powerful then the rest, had not preserved it from being parcelled out as the others were, on a strong Confidence of getting it all unto himself. The Family of the *Percies* was then reduced to such a point, that it seemed to have been quite expired; a Family which first came in with the *Norman* Conquerour, by whom enriched with most of the forfeited Estates of *Morbar*, *Gospatrick*, and *Waltheof*, the three last Earls of *Northumberland*, of the *Saxon* Race: But, this Line ending in the latter times of King *HENRY* the First, *Jesseline* of *Lorain*, descended from the Emperour *CHARLES* the Great, and one of the younger Brothers of *Adeliza*, the last Wife of the King, enrich'd himself by Marriage with the Heir General of this House, upon condition, that keeping to himself the Arms of his own Family, he should assume the Name of *Percy*, to remain always afterward unto his Posterity. Advanced in that respect, by the Power and Favour of *John* of *Gaunt*, to the

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the Rank and Title of the Earls of *Northumberland*, at the Coronation of King *Richard the Second*. They held the same with great Power, and Honour, (the short interposing of the Marquess *Montacute* excepted onely) till toward the latter end of King *Henry the Eighth*. At what time it happened, that *Henry Lord Percy*, the sixth Earl of this House, had incurred the heavy displeasure of that King: First, for an old affection to the Lady *Ann Boleyn*, when the King began first to be enamoured of her excellent Beauties; and afterwards for denying to confess a Precontract to have been formerly made between them; when the King (now as weary of her, as before he was fond) was seeking some fair Pretences to divorce himself from her, before she was to lose her Head. He had no Children of his own; and *Thomas* his Brother, and next Heir, was, to his greater grief, attainted of Treason, for being thought to have a chief hand in the *Northern Rebellion*, Anno 1536. In both respects, he found himself at such a loss, and the whole Family without hope of a Restitution to its antient splendour; that, to preserve himself from running into further danger, he gave unto the King the greatest part of that fair Inheritance; and, dying not long after, left his Titles also to the King's disposing.

The Lands, and Titles, being thus fallen into the Crown, continued undisposed of, till the falling of the Duke of *Somerset*; when *Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*, having some projections in his Head beyond the greatness of a Subject, advanced himself unto the Title of Duke of *Northumberland*; not doubting, but he should be able to possess himself in short time also of all the Lands of that Family, which were then remaining in the Crown. To which Estate, the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and all the Lands belonging to it, could not but be beheld as a fair Addition, if at the least it might be called an addition, which was of more value, then the Patrimony, to which it was to have been added.

He had long Reigned without a Crown, suffering the King for some years to enjoy that Title, which was to be transferred (if all Contrivances had held good) upon one of his Sons, whom He designed in Marriage to the eldest Daughter of the House of *Suffolk*. And then how easie was it for him, having a King of his own begetting, a Queen of his own making, the Lords of the Council at his beck, and a Parliament to serve his turn for all occasions, to incorporate both the Lands of the *Percies*, and the Patrimony of that Church, into one Estate, with all the Rights, and Privileges of a County Palatine. Count Palatine of *Durham*, Prince Palatine of *Northumberland*, or what else he pleased, must be the least he could have aimed at, in that happy Conjunction; happy to him, had the Event been answerable unto his Projections; but miserable enough to all the rest of the Kingdom, who should not fervently submit to this Glorious Upstart. Upon which Grounds, as the Bishoprick of *Durham* was dissolved by Act of Parliament, under pretence of patching up the King's Revenue; so the greatest part of the Lands thereof had been kept together, that they might serve for a Revenue to the future Palatine. But all these Projects failing in the death of the King, and his own Attaindure, not long after the *Percies* were restored by Queen *Mary* to their Lands and Honours, as the Bishop was unto his Liberty, and to most of his Lands; it being almost impossible, that such a fair Estate should fall into the hands of the Courtiers, and no part of it be left sticking in those Glutinous Fingers.

For to begin the Year withall, the King was taken with a very strong Cough in the Moneth of *January*, which at last ended in a Consumption of the Lungs; the Seeds of which Malignity were generally supposed to have been sown in the last Summer's Progress, by some over-hearings of himself in his Sports, and Exercises. But they, that looked more narrowly into the matter, observed some kind of decayings in him from the time that Sir *Robert Dudley*, the third Son of *Northumberland*, was admitted into a place of ordinary attendance about his Person, which was on the same Day, when his Father was created Duke. For where-

as most men gave themselves no improbable hopes, that betwixt the Spring time of his life, the Growing season of the year, and such Medicinal applications as were made unto him, the disease would wear it self away, by little and little, yet they found the contrary. It rather grew so fast upon him, that when the Parliament was to begin on the first of *March*, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, were Commanded to attend him at *White-Hall*, instead of waiting on him from thence to *Westminster*, in the usual manner. Where being come, they found a Sermon ready for them (*the Preacher being the Bishop of London*) which otherwise was to have been Preached in the *Abby-Church*; and the Great Chamber of the Court accomodated for an House of *Peers* to begin the Session. For the opening whereof, the King then sitting under the Cloth of State, and all the Lords, according to their Ranks, and Orders, he declared by the Lord Chancellor *Goodrick*, the causes of his calling them to the present Parliament, and so dismiss them for that time. A Parliament which began, and ended in the Month of *March*, that the Commissions might the sooner be dispatched to their several Circuits, for the speedier gathering up of such of the Plate, Copes, Vestments, and other Furnitures, of which the Church was to be spoiled, in the time of his sickness,

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Yet in the midst of these disorders there was some care taken for advancing both the honour and the interest of the *English-Nation*, by furnishing *Sebastian Cabot* for some new discoveries. Which *Sebastian*, the Son of *John Cabot* a *Venetian* born, attended on his first imployment under *Henry* the seventh, Anno 1497. At what time they discovered the *Barralaos*, and the Coasts of *Cenada*: now called *New-France*, even to the 67  $\frac{1}{2}$ . degree of *Northern* Latitude. Bending his Course more toward the *South*, and discovering a great part of the shoars of *Florida*, he returned for *England*; bringing with him three of the *Natives* of that Country, to which the name of *New-Found-Land* hath been since appropriated. But finding the *KING* unhappily Embroyled in a War with *Scotland*, and no present Encouragements to be given for a further Voiage, he betook himself into the service of the *KING* of *SPAIN*, and after forty years and more, upon some distast, abandoned *SPAIN*, and offered his service to this *KING*. By whom, being made *Grand Pilot* of *England*, in the year 1549. he animated the *English-Merchants*, to the finding out of a passage by the *North-East Seas* to *Cathay*, and *China*; first enterprised under the Conduct of *St. Hugh Willoughby*, who unfortunately Perished in the Action; himself, and all his Company, being Frozen to Death (all the particulars of his Voiage being since committed to Writing) as was certified by the Adventurers in the year next following. It was upon the twentieth of *May* in this present year that this Voiage was first undertaken, three great Ships being well manned, and fitted for the Expedition; which afterwards was followed by *Chancelour, Burroughs, Jackman, Jenkinson*, and other noble Adventurers, in the times Succeeding. Who though they failed of their Attempt in finding out a shorter way to *Cathay*, and *China*; yet did they open a fair Passage to the *Bay* of *S. Nicholas*, and thereby layd the first foundation of a Wealthy Trade betwixt us, and the *Muscovites*.

But the *KING'S* Sicknels still encreasing, who was to live no longer then might well stand with the designs of the *DUKE* of *Northumberland*; some Marriages are resolved on, for the Daughters of the *DUKE* of *Suffolk*, in which the *KING* appeared as forward, as if he had been one of the Principalls in the Plot against him. And so the matter was Contrived, that the *Lady JANE* the eldest Daughter to that *DUKE*, should be Married to the Lord *Guisford Dudley*, the fourth Son (then living) of *Northumberland*, all the three Elder Sons having Wives before, that *Katherine* the second Daughter of

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*Suffolk*, should be Married to the Lord *Henry Herbert*, the Eldest Son of the Earl of *Pembroke*, whom *Dudly* had made privy to all his Counsels; and the third Daughter, named *Mary*, being Crook-Backed, and otherwise not very taking, affianced to *Martin Keys*, the *KING'S* Gentleman-Porter. Which Marriages together with that of the Lady *Katherine*, one of the Daughters of Duke *Dudly*, to *Henry Lord Hastings*, Eldest Son of the Earl of *Huntington*, were celebrated in the end of *May*, or the beginning of *June* (for I finde our Writers differing in the time thereof) with as much Splendour and solemnity, as the *KING'S* weak Estate, and the sad Condition of the Court could be thought to bear. These Marriages all solemnized at *Durham-House* in the *Strand*, of which *Northumberland* had then took possession in the name of the *Rest*, upon a Confidence of being Master very shortly of the whole Estate. The noise of these Marriages bred such Amazement in the Hearts of the common People, aprentough in themselves to speak the worst of *Northumberland's* Actions; That there was nothing left unsaid, which might serve to shew their hatred against him, or exprefs their Pity toward the *KING*. But the *DUKE* was so little troubled at it, that on the contrary he resolved to Dissemble no longer, but openly to play his Game, according to the Plot and Project; which he had been Hammering ever since the Fall of the *DUKE of Somerset*, whose Death he had Contrived on no other Ground, but for laying the way more plain, and open to these vast ambitions.

The *KING* was now grown weak in Body, and his Spirits much decayed by a languishing Sicknes; which Rendered him more apprehensive of such fears and Dangers, as were to be presented to him, then otherwise he could have been in a time of strength.

In which Estate, Duke *Dudly* so prevailed upon him, that he consented at the last to a transposition of the Crown from his natural sisters, to the Children of the Dutchess of *Suffolk*; Confirming it by Letters Patents, to the Heirs Male of the Body of the said Dutchess. And for want of such Heirs Males to be Born in the lifetime of the *KING*, the Crown immediately to descend on the Lady *JANE* (the eldest Daughter of that House) and the Heirs of her Body, and so with several Remainders, to the rest of that Family. The carriage of which Business, and the Rubs it met with in the way, shall be reserved to the particular story of the Lady *JANE* when she is brought unwilling upon the Stage, there on to Act the part of a Queen of *England*. It sufficeth in this place to note, that the *KING* had no sooner caused these Leters Patents to passe the Seal, but his Weakness more visibly encreased, then it did before. And as the *KING'S* Weakness did encrease, so did the *DUKE of Northumberland's* Diligence about him; for he was little absent from him, and had alwaies some well-assured, to spy how the State of his Health changed every Hour; And the more joyfull he was at the Heart, the more Sorrowful appearance did he outwardly Make. Whither any tokens of Poyson did Appear, reports are various. Certainly his Physicians discerned an invincible Malignity, in his disease; and the Suspicion did the more encrease, for that the Complaint proceeded chiefly from the Lights; a part, as of no quickness, so no seat for any sharp Disease. The Bruit whereof being got amongst the People, they break out into immoderate Passions; Complaining that, for this cause, his two Uncles had been taken away; that for this cause the most Faithful of his Nobility, and of his Council were disgraced, and removed from Court; that this was the reason why such were placed next his Person, who were most assuredly disposed, either to commit, or permit, any Mischief; that now it did appear, that it was not vainly conjectured some years before, by Men of Judgment and Foresight,


fight, that after *Sommerſet's* Death the King ſhould not long Enjoy his Life. But the *DUKE* regarded not much the muttering Multitude, knowing full well, that Rumours grow Stale, and Vanish with Time; and yet ſomewhat to abate, or Delay them for the preſent, He cauſed ſpeeches to be ſpread abroad that the *KING* began to be in a Recovery of his Health, which was the more readily Believd, becauſe moſt deſired it to be true. To which Report the General Judgment of his Phyſicians gave no little Countenance, by whom it was affirmed, that they ſaw ſome hopes of his Recovery, if he might be removed to a Better, and more Healthful Air. But this, *DUKE Dudley* did not like of, and therefore he ſo dealt with the *LORDS* of the Council, that they would by no means yield unto it, upon pretence of his Inability to endure any ſuch Remove.

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And now, the time being near at hand, for the laſt Act of this Tragedy, a certain Gentlewoman, accounted a fit Inſtrument for the purpoſe, offered her Service for the Cure, giving no ſmall aſſurance of it, if He might be committed wholly to her diſpoſing. But from this Propoſition the *KING'S* Phyſicians ſhewed themſelves to be very averſe, in regard, that as ſhe could give no reaſon, either of the nature of the Diſeaſe, or of the part afflicted; ſo ſhe would not declare the means, whereby ſhe intended to work the Cure. Whoſe Oppoſition notwithstanding, it was in time reſolved by the Lords of the Council, that the Phyſicians ſhould be diſcharged, and the Ordering of the King's Perſon committed unto her alone. But ſhe had not kept Him long in hand, when He was found to have fallen into ſuch Deſperate Extremity, as manifeſtly might Declare, that His Death was haſtened, under pretence of finding out a more quick way for reſtoring of His Health. For now it viſibly appeared, that His Vital Parts were mortally ſtuffed. Which brought Him to a difficulty of ſpeech, and breathing; that His Legs ſwelled, his Pulſe failed, and his Skin changed colour; with many other horrid Symptoms of approaching Death. Which being obſerved, the Phyſicians were again ſent for, when it was too late; and ſent for (as they gave it out) but for Faſhion onely; becauſe it was not thought fit in Reaſon of State, that a King ſhould dy, without having ſome Phyſicians in attendance of him, by ſome of which it was ſecretly whiſpered, That neither their Advice nor Applications, had been at all regarded in the courſe of his Sickneſs, That the King had been ill dealt with, more then once, or twice; and that, when by the Benefit, both of his Youth, and of careful Means, there were ſome fair hopes of his Recovery, He was again more ſtrongly Over-laid then ever. And for a farther proof, that ſome undue Practiſes had been uſed upon him, it is Affirmed by a Writer of the *Papiſt* Party, who could have no great cauſe to pity ſuch a Calamitous End, not onely that the Apothecary, who poiſoned him, as well for the Horrour of the Offence, as the Diſquietneſs of his Conſcience, did not long after drown himſelf; but that the Landreſs, who waſhed his Shirts, loſt the Skin of her fingers. Againſt which general apprehenſions of ſome ill Dealing toward this unfortunate Prince, it can be no ſufficient Argument (if any Argument at all) that Queen *Mary* cauſed no Enquiry to be made about it, as ſome ſuppoſed ſhe would have done, if the ſuſpicion had been raiſed upon any good Grounds. For it may eaſily be Believed, that ſhe who afterwards admitted of a Conſultation for Burning the Body of Her Father, and cutting off the Head of Her Siſter, would not be over-Careful in the ſearch, and puniſhment of thoſe, who had precipitated the Death of her Brother.

The differences which were between them in the point of Religion, and the King's forwardneſs in the Cauſe of the Lady *Jane*; His rendering Her 'uncapable

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*Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable, and wretched life, and take me among thy Chosen. Howbeit, not my Will, but Thine be done. Lord, I commit my Spirit to Thee. O Lord, Thou knowest, how happy it were for Me, to be with Thee: Yet, for thy Chosen's sake, send me Life, and Health, that I may truly serve Thee. Oh my Lord God! bless my People, and save Thine Inheritance. O Lord God, save thy Chosen People of England. Oh Lord God! defend this Realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true Religion, that I, and my People, may praise thy Holy Name, for Jesus Christ his sake.*

With this Prayer, and other Holy Meditations, He prepared that Pious Soul for God; which He surrendered into the Hands of His Creatour, on the sixth of July, toward Night, when He had lived fifteen Years, eight Moneths, and four and twenty Days: Of which, He had Reigned six Years, five Moneths, and eight Days over. His Body, kept a while at *Greenwich*, was, on the eight of August, removed to *Westminster*, and, on the morrow after, solemnly Interred amongst His Ancestours, in the *Abbey-Church*. In the performance whereof, the Lord Treasurer *Paulet*, with the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Pembroke*, served as principal Mourners; the Funeral Sermon Preached by Doctour *Day*, then shortly to be re-established in the See of *Chichester*. And, if the Dead be capable of any Felicity in this present Woold, He might be said, to have had a special part thereof, in this particular. *viz.* That, as He had caused all Divine Offices to be Celebrated in the *English* Tongue, according to the *Reformation*, which was made in the time of His Life; so the whole Service of the Day, together with the Form of Burial, and the Communion following on it, were Officiated in the *English* Tongue, (according to the same Model) on the Day of his Obsequies. But whilst these things were Acting on the Curch of *Westminster*, Queen *Mary* held a more beneficial Obsequie for Him, (as She then imagined) in the Tower of *London*, where She caused a Solemn *Dirige*, in the *Latine* Tongue, to be Chanted in the Afternoon; and, the next Day, a Mass of *Requiem*, to be sung for the good of His Soul: At which, both She, and many of Her Ladies, made their accustomed Offerings, according to the Form, and Manner of the Church of *Rome*.

Such was the Life, and such the Death of this Excellent Prince, whose Character I shall not borrow from any of our own *English* Writers, who may be thought to have been byassed by their own Affections, in speaking more, or less, of Him, then He had deserved. But I shall speak Him in the words of that Great Philosopher *Hierome Cardanus*, an *Italian* born; and, who professing the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, cannot be rationally accused of Partiality in his Character of Him.

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There was in Him (saith he) a towardly Disposition, and pregnancy, apt to all Humane Literature: as who, being yet a Child, had the knowledge of divers Tongues; First, of the English, His own Natural Tongue; of the Latine also, and of the French: Neither was He ignorant (as I hear) of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish Tongues, and of other Languages, peradventure, more. In His own, in the French, and in the Latine Tongue, singularly perfect; and, with the like facility, apt to receive all other. Neither was He ignorant in Logick, in the Principles of Natural Philosophie, or in Musick. There was in Him, lacking neither Humanity, a Princely Gravity, and Majesty, for any kind of towardliness, becoming a Noble King. Briefly, it might seem A Miracle of Nature, to behold the Excellent Wit, and Forwardness, that appeared in Him, being yet but a Child. And thus (saith he) I speak not Rhetorically, to amplify things, or to make them more, than Truth is; nay, the Truth is more, then I do utter. So He, in reference to His Personal Abilities, and Qualifications: And for the rest, that is to say, His Piety to Almighty God, His Zeal to the Reformation of Religion, His Care for the well-ordering of the Common-Wealth, and other Qualities belonging to a Christian King, (so far as they could be found in such tender years,) I leave them to be gathered from the Passages of His Life, as before laid down: Remembering well, that I am to play the Part of an Historian, and not of a Panegyrist, or Rhetorician.

As for the manner of His Death, the same Philosopher leaves it under a suspicion, of being iike to fall upon Him, by some dangerous Practise. For, whether He divined it by his ART in Astrologie (having Calculated the Scheme of His Nativity) or apprehended it by the Course, and Carriage of Busines, he made a dangerous Prediction; when he fore-saw, that the KING should shortly dye a violent Death; and (as he reporteth) fled out of the Kingdom, for fear of further danger, which might follow on it.

Of any Publick Works of Piety, in the Reign of this KING, more then the Founding and Endowing of the Hospitals before-remembered, I finde no mention in our Authours; which cannot be affirmed of the Reign of any of His Predecessours, since their first receiving of the Gospel. But their Times were for building up, and His unfortunate Reign was for pulling down. Howsoever, I finde His Name remembred amongst the Benefactors to the University of Oxford, and, by that Name, required to be commemorated in all the Prayers before such Sermons; as were Preached ordinarily by any of that Body, in Saint Marie's Church, or at Saint Paul's Cross, or finally in the Spittle without Bishops-Gate, on some solemn Festivals. But, possibly it is, that his Beneficence did extend no further, then either to the Confirmation of such Endowments, as had been made unto that University by King Henry the Eighth, or, to the excepting of all Colleges in that, and the other University, out of the Statute, or Act of Parliament, by which all Chantries, Colleges, and Free-Chapels, were conferred upon Him. The want of which Redemption, in the Grant of the said Chantries, Colleges, Free-Chapels to King Henry the Eighth, strook such a Terror unto the Students of both Universities, that they could never think themselves secure, till the Expiring of that Statute by the Death of the King; notwithstanding a very Pious and Judicious Letter, which had been written to the King in that behalf, by Doctour Richard Cox, then Dean of Christ-Church, and Tutor to His Son, Prince Edward.

But, not to leave this Reign, without the Testimony of some Work of Piety, I cannot but remember the Foundation of the Hospital of Christ in Abindon, as a Work, not onely of this Time, but the King's own Act. A Guild, or Brother-hood, had been there founded in the Parish.

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rish-Church of Saint *Hellens*, during the Reign of King *Henry the Sixth*, by the procurement of one Sir *John Gollafrie* (a near Neighbouring Gentleman) for Building, and Repairing certain Bridges, and High-waies, about the Town; as also, for the Sustainance, and Relief of thirteen poor People, with two, or more Priests, for performing all Divine Offices, unto those of the *Brother-hood*. Which being brought within the Compass of the *Act* of Parliament, by which all Chantries, Colleges, and Free-Chappels, were conferred on the Crown: the Lands hereof were seized on, to the use of the King; the Repairing of the Waies, and Bridges, turned upon the Town, and the Poor left Destitute, in a manner, of all Relief. In which Condition it remained, till the last Year of the King, when it was moved by Sir *John Mason*, one of the *Masters of Requests* (a Town-born Childe, and one of the poorest mens Children in it) to erect an Hospital in the same, and to Endow it with such of the Lands, belonging to the former *Brother-hood*, as remained in the Crown, and to charge it with the Services, and Pious Uses, which were before incumbent on the old Fraternity. The Suitour was too powerfull to be denyed, and the Work too Charitable in it self to belong demurr'd on, so that he was easily made *Master* also of this *Request*. Having obtained the King's Consent, he caused a handsome Pile of Building to be Erected near the Church, distributed into several Lodgings, for the Use of the Poor, and one convenient Common-Hall, for dispatch of Business: to which he laid such Farms, and Tenements in the Town, and elsewhere, as had been vested in the *Brother-hood* of the *Holy-Cross*, before remembred; and committed the Care, and Governance of the whole Revenue, to a Corporation of twelve Persons, by the Name of the *Master, and Governors of the Hospital of Christ in Abindon*. All which he fortified, and assured to the Town for ever, by Virtue of this His Majestie's Letters Patents, bearing Date the nineteenth of *May*, in the seventh and last Year of His Reigne, *Anno 1553*. And so I conclude the Reign of King *Edward the Sixth*, sufficiently remarkable for the Progress of the *Reformation*; but otherwise tumultuous in it self, and defamed by Sacrilege, and so distracted into Sides, and Factions; that, in the end, the King Himself became a Prey to the strongest Party: which could not otherwise be safe, but in His Destruction, contrived on Purpose, as it was generally supposed) to smooch the Way to the Advancement of the Lady *Jane Grey* to the Royal Throne. Of whose short Reign, Religious Disposition, and Calamitous Death, We are next to speak.





AN  
APPENDIX  
TO THE FORMER  
BOOK,

Touching the Interposings made in  
Behalf of the Lady

JANE GRAY;

Publickly Proclaimed

QUEEN of

ENGLAND.

Together with the History of Her Admirable  
Life, Short Reign, and most Deplorable Death.

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Prov. xxxi. 29.

*Many Daughters have done virtuously; but thou excellest  
them all.*

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Vell. Pat. c. lib. 2.

Genere, Probitate, Formâ, Romanorum Eminentissima,  
& per omnia, Deis, quàm hominibus, similior Fœmina.

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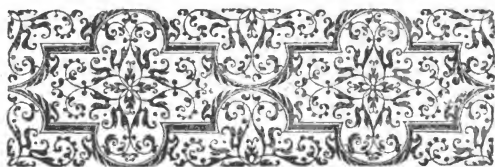
Cambd. in Reliquiis.

*Miraris Janam Graio Sermone loquutam?  
Quo primum nata est tempore, Graia fuit!*

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LONDON, Printed, Anno Dom. 1660.





THE  
LIFE and REIGN  
OF  
QUEEN  
JANE.

Anno Domini 1553.



THE Lady JANE GRAY, whom King EDWARD had Declared for His next Successour, was Eldest Daughter of HENRY Lord GRAY, Duke of Suffolk, and Marquess Dorset, descended from THOMAS Lord GRAY, Marquess Dorset, the Eldest Son of Queen ELIZABETH, the onely Wife of EDWARD the Fourth, by Sir JOHN GRAY, Her former Husband. Her Mother was the Lady Frances's Daughter; and in fine, one of the Co-Heirs of Charles Brandon, the late Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, His Wife, Queen Dowager to Lewis the Twelfth of France, and youngest Daughter of King HENRY the Seventh, Grandfather to King EDWARD now Deceased. Her High Descent, and the great Care of King HENRY the Eighth, to see Her happily, and well bestowed in Marriage, Commended Her unto the Bed of Henry, Lord Marquess Dorset, before-remembered; A man of known Nobility, and of Large Revenues; possess'd not onely of the Patrimony of the Grays of Groby, but of the whole Estate of the Lord Harrington,

*An. 1553.* *rington*, and *Bonville*: which descended on him in the Right of his Grand-Mother, the Wife of the first Marquess of *Dorset*, of this Name, and Family. And it is little to be doubted, but that the Fortunes of the House had been much increased, by the especial Providence, and Bounty of the said Queen *Elizabeth*; who cannot be supposed to have neglected any Advantage, in the Times of Her Glory, and Prosperity, for the Advancement of Her Children by Her former Husband. In these Respects, more than for any Personal Abilities, which he had in himself, he held a very fair Esteem amongst the Peers of the Realm: rather Beloved, then Reverenced by the Common People. For, as he had few Commendable Qualities, which might produce any High Opinion of his Parts, and Merit: so was he guilty of no Vices, which might blunt the Edge of that Affection in the Vulgar sort; which commonly is born to Persons of that Eminent Rank. His Wife, as of an Higher Birth, was of greater Spirit: but one, that could accommodate it to the will of Her Husband. Pretermitted in the Succession to the Crown, by the last Will, and Testament of King *Henry the Eighth*: not out of any Disrespect, which that King had of Her; but, because he was not willing to think it probable, that either She, or the Lady *Ellenor*, Her younger Sister, (whom he had pretermitted also in that Designation) could live so long, as to Survive His own three Children, and such, as, in the course of Nature, should be issued from them.

Of this Marriage there were born three Daughters, that is to say, *Jane*, *Katharine*, and *Mary*. Of which, the Eldest, being but some Moneths older then the late King *Edward*, may be presumed to have took the name of *Jane*, from the Queen *Jane Scimour*; as *Katharine*, from Queen *Katharine Howard*, or Queen *Katharine Parr*; and *Mary*, from the Princess *Mary*, the eldest Daughter of King *Henry*, or in Relation to Her Grand-Mother, His youngest Sister. But the great Glory of this Family was the Lady *Jane*, who seemed to have been born with those Attractions, which seat a Sovereignty in the face of most beautifull Persons; yet was Her mind endued with more Excellent Charms, then the Attractions of Her face: Modest, and Mild of Disposition, Courteous of Carriage, and of such Affable Deportment, as might Entitle Her to the Name of *Queen of Hearts*, before She was Designed for Queen over any Subjects. Which Native, and Obliging Graces, were accompanied with some more profitable ones, of Her own Acquiring; which set an higher Valew on them, and much encreased the same, both in Worth, and Lustre. Having attained unto that Age, in which other young Ladies used to apply themselves, to the Sports, and Exercises of their Sex: She wholly gave Her mind to good Arts, and Sciences; much furthered in that pursuit, by the care, and diligence of one Mr. *Elmer*, who was appointed for Her Tutor; the same (if my Conjecture deceive me not) who afterwards was deservedly Advanced, by Queen *Elizabeth*, to the See of *London*. Under his charge She came to such a large Proficiency, that She spake the *Latine*, and *Greek* Tongues, with as sweet a fluency, as if they had been Natural, and Native to Her; Exactly skilled in the Liberal Sciences, and perfectly well Studied in both kinds of Philosophy.

For Proof whereof, there goes a Story, that Mr. *Roger Ascham* (being then Tutor to the Princess *Elizabeth*) came to attend Her once at *Broadgates*, a House of Her Father's, neighbouring to the Town of *Leicester*. where he found Her in Her Chamber, reading *Phadon Platonis in Greek*, with as much delight, as some Gentlemen would have read a Merry Tale in *Gosferry Chancer*. The Duke, Her Father, the Dukes, and all the rest of the Houshold, were at that time hunting in the Park: which moved him to put this Question to Her, "How She could find in Her Heart to lose such Excellent Pastimes? To which She very cheerfully returned this Answer, "That all the Pastimes in the Park were a Shadow onely of the Pleasure, and Contentment, which She found in that Book; adding moreover, "That one of the greatest blessings God ever gave Her, was in "sending Her sharp Parents, and a gentle Schole-Master, which made Her take  
"delight



“delight in nothing so much, as in Her Study. By which agreeableness of Disposition, and eminent Proficiency in all parts of Learning, she became very dear to the young King *Edward*, to whom *Fox* not onely makes Her equal, but doth acknowledge her also to be His Superiour in those Noble Studies. And for an Ornament superadded to Her other Perfections, she was most zealously affected to the true Protestant Religion, then by Law established; which She embraced, not out of any outward compliance with the present current of the Times; but because Her own most Excellent Judgment had been fully satisfied in the Truth, and Purity thereof. All which together did so endear her to the King, that he took great Delight in Her Conversation, and made it the first step to that Royal Throne, to which He afterwards designed Her in the Time of His Sicknes.

An. 1553.

Thus lived she in these sweet Contentments, till she came unto the years of Marriage, when she, that never found in Her self the least Spark of Ambition, was made the most unhappy Instrument of another man's. *Dudly* of *Warwick*, a Person of a proud, deceitfull, and aspiring Nature, began to entertain some Ambitious thoughts, when *Edward* first began to Reign: but kept them down, as long as his two Uncles lived together, in Peace, and Concord. But, having found a means to dissolve that knot, occasioned by the Pride, and Insolency of the *Duchess* of *Somerset*, one as ill-Natured as himself, he first made use of the Protectour to destroy the Admiral, and after served himself by some Lords of the Court, for humbling the Lord Protectour to an equal Level with the rest of the Council. Finding by this Experiment, how easie a thing it was to serve his Turn by them on all other Occasions, he drew unto himself the managing of all Affairs; none being so hardy, as to question any of his Actions, and much less to cross them. But not content with being looked on as the Chief in Power, he is resolved to make himself the first in Place; thinking no private Greatness to be answerable to so great a Merit, as he had fancied in himself. Thus busying his unquiet thoughts upon new Designs, and passing from one imagination to another, he fixed at last upon a purpose of Husbanding the Opportunities to his best Advantage; in transferring the Crown into his own Family, which he thought Capable enough of the highest Honours.

For why (said he) within himself, should not the Son of a *Dudly*, being the more Noble House of the two, be thought as Capable of the Imperial Crown of this Realm, as the Son, or Grand-Child of a *Seimour*. Though I pretend not to be born of the Race of Kings; yet I may give a King to *England* of my Race and Progeny, on as good ground, as any, which derive themselves from *Owen Tudor*, the Ancestour of the Boy now reigning. That Family pretended onely from a Daughter to the House of *Somerset*, and there are now some Daughters of the House of *Suffolk*, which may pretend as much as she. If by a Match into that House, I can finde a way to bring the Crown into mine own; I shall want no Presidents at home, and finde many abroad. Some Dangers may present themselves in the Pursuit of this Enterprize: but Dangers are to be despised, as in all great Actions; so chiefly, when a Crown is aimed at. It is resolved, that I will try my Fortune in it: which if it prosper to my wish, I shall live Triumphantly; if I sink under the Attempt, I shall perish Nobly. Which being concluded, and resolved on, he first insinuates himself into the good affections of the *Marquess* of *Dorset*: whom he assisteth in his Suit for the Title of *Suffolk*, which without him was not to be gained: exalts himself to the like Glorious Title of Duke of *Northumberland*, that he might stand on equal ground with the proudest of them: and in a word so cunningly prepareth his Toils for the Duke of *Somerset*, that at the last he fell into them, never to be set free again, untill Death released him; all which Particulars have been at large laid down in the former History. And this being done, he suffered the young King to wear out all the following year, the better to avoid all Popular suspicion, that His Uncle's Death was onely hastened to make way for His. And possible it is, that he might have tired it out a little longer; but for a smart Jest, which

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An. 1553. He put upon this Ambitious Minister. The King took great delight in his Bow, and, Arrows : and shooting one day at the Butt (as He used to do) hit the very White. *Well aimed, my Liege*, said Merrily the Mighty Duke : *But you aimed better*, said the King, *when you shot off the head of My Uncle Sommerfet* : which words so stung the Conscience of the guilty man, that he could not think himself secure, but by accelerating his Design, for settling the Crown upon the Head of one of his Children, according to the Plot, which he had hammered in the Forge of his Wretched Brain.

For now, the King beginning sensibly to decay, he takes his time, to enter into Communication with the Duke of *Suffolk*, about a Marriage to be made betwixt the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, his fourth Son, and the Lady *Jane Gray*, the Duke's eldest Daughter : which, with the rest of the Marriages before-mentioned, being propounded and concluded, (for he was grown too great, and known to be too dangerous to be denied in any reasonable Suit) a day was set, in which this Excellent Lady was to be transplanted into the Family of the *Dudleys*. A day, which she expected with a Virgin Modesty, and, after the Solemnity of the Nuptial Rites, delivers Her pure Body to the chaste Embraces of a Vertuous Consort ; who, of all *Dudley's* Brood, had nothing of the Father in him. All which succeeding to his wish, he sets himself to the accomplishing of that Project, which he had long before designed. The King was now grown weak in Body, and decayed in Spirits, and in that weak Estate he takes his Opportunities to inculcate to Him, what infinite Blessings had been derived from Him on this Church, and Nation, by the Blessed Reformation of Religion, so happily began, and brought to such Perfection by Him : That it must therefore be His Care so to provide for the Continuance of those infinite Blessings, that Posterity might enjoy the Benefit, and Comfort of it, which would gain Him a more precious Memory amongst His Subjects, than all His other Princely Virtues ; That nothing was more feared by all Sorts of People, than that the Crown Imperial (if it should please Almighty God to call Him to a Crown of Glory) would fall upon the Head of the Lady *Mary*, a Princess passionately affected to the Interests of the Church of *Rome*, and one, who by Her Marriage with some Potent Prince of that Religion, might Captivate the Free-Born *English* Nation to a Foreign Servitude ; That both His Sisters, being born of disputed Marriages, and howsoever being but his half Sisters onely, and by several Ventures, could neither be Heirs to Him, nor to one another, by the known Laws of the Land : which neither Acts of Parliament, nor the last Will, and Testament of the King Deceased, were of power to alter ; That the young Queen of *Scots* was an *Alien* born, by Consequence incapable of any Inheritance in the Realm of *England*, and had besides preferred the Alliance of the *French* before that of His Majesty, which rendered Her as unworthy, as she was incapable ; That, for the better carrying on of that Blessed Work of Reformation, the Peace, and Happiness of His People, the preventing of all Emergent Mischiefs, and His own everlasting Fame, it was not possible to make a more happy Provision, then by transferring the Crown to the Lady *Jane*, a Lady of such Excellent Virtues, as were sufficient to adorn the Richest Diadem ; That there was no Question to be made, but that His Majesty knew, as well as any, the admirable qualities of that Mischief's Lady. Her Zeal to the Religion, here by Him established, the agreeableness of Her Conversation with His own Affections, and could not but conceive that Nation to be infinitely happier then all others, which might fall under the Command of so mild a Government ; And finally, That he was bound by His Duty to God, the Light of His own Conscience, and the Love He had to all His Subjects, to lay aside all Natural Affections to His Father's House, in respect of that great Obligation, which He had to God's Glory, and the true Religion ; following therein the Example of our Lord, and Saviour, who looked both for his Brothers, and Sisters, amongst his Disciples, without relating to his nearest Kindred by *Joseph*, or *Mary*.

By

By these Suggestions, and Inducements, he much inclined the King to hearken to his Propositions. For furtherance whereof he caused such, as were about Him, to entertain Him with continual Discourses of the Divine Perfections, and most Heavenly Graces of the Lady *Jane*; the high Esteem, in which She was with all the Subjects, for Her Zeal, and Piety; the everlasting Fame, which would wait upon Him, by providing such a Successour to enjoy the Crown, in whom Virtues would survive to succeeding Ages. Then which, no Musick could sound sweeter in the Ears of the King, whom he knew to have an affectionate Sympathy with that Excellent Lady; as being much of the same Age, brought up in the same Studies, as near to Him in the sweetness of Her Disposition, as She was in Blood; and of a Conversation so agreeable to Him, as if They had been but the same Person in divers Habits. And they all plied their Game so cunningly, that the weak King, not being able to withstand so many Assaults, did at last condescend to that, which he found not onely most conformable to their Importunities, but to His own Affections also. Order was taken thereupon, that an Instrument should be drawn in due Form of Law, for the transposing of the Crown to the Children of the Lady *Frances*, Duchesse of *Suffolk*, and Daughter to *Mary*, the French Queen, one of the Sisters of King *Henry*, His Majestie's Father. In which Instrument, nothing was to be defective, which either could be drawn from the Grounds of Law, or the Rules of Polity, to justifie, and endear the Action. In drawing up whereof, there was none thought fitter to be used, then Sir *William Cecil*, one of the Chief Secretaries of Estate, who having before served *Dudley*'s Turn against his old Master, the Duke of *Somerset*, was looked on, as the Readiest Man for the present Service.

The Pretensions, taken from the Law, for excluding the King's two Sisters from the Right of Succession, were grounded; First, Upon the Invalidity of their Mother's Marriage: both being made void by Legal Sentences of Divorce, and those Divorces ratified by Acts of Parliament. In which the said two Sisters were declared to be illegitimate, and consequently incapable of any of those Favours, which were intended to them by the Act of Succession, made in the thirty fifth year of the late King *Henry*, or by the last Will, and Testament, of that King, which was built upon it. In the next Place it was pretended, that the said two Sisters, *Mary*, and *Elizabeth*, being but of half Blood to the King now Reigning (admitting them to have been born in lawfull Wedlock) were not in any Capacity by the Common-Law, (the old good Law of *England*) to be Heirs unto Him; or to Succeed in any Part of that Inheritance, which came unto Him by His Father. It was considered also, that by the known Rules, and Principles of the Common-Law, no manner of Person was Inheritable to any Estate of Lands, or Tenements, in the Realm of *England*, who was not born under the King's Allegiance, as King of *England*, but in the case of Naturalization by Act of Parliament. Which seemed to be a sufficient Bar against all Titles, and Demands, for the Line of *Scotland*, although derived from *Margaret*, the Eldest Daughter of King *Henry the Seventh*. And whereas the Lady *Frances*, Duchesse of *Suffolk*, might seem both by the Law of Nature, and the Right of Succession, to have precedency in Title before her Daughter; yet was no Injury offered to her: in regard, that she was willing to pass by all her Personal Claims, for the Preferment of her Children. Which Pretermissons of the Mother were neither new, nor strange in the Succession to the Crown of this Kingdom. Not new, because the like was done by *Maud* the Emperess, for the Advancement of her Son King *Henry the Second*; nor strange; because it had been lately practised in the Person of the Lady *Margaret*, Countess of *Richmond*, in giving Way to the Preferment of King *Henry the Seventh*, the first King of the House now Regnant.

The Reasons, or Pretexes, which seemed to be built on Polity, and Point of State, were: first, the unavoydable Danger of Reducing this Free, and Noble Realm, under the Vassalage, and Servitude, of the Bishop of *Rome*; if either of the King's

An. 1553. two Sisters, in their several Turns, should marry with a Foreign Prince of that Religion; or otherwise, by the Transport of their own Affections, submit their Scepters to the Pope.

It was considered also, That, by such Marriages, not onely many Foreign Customs, and Laws, would be introduced: but that there might follow an Abolishment of those Antient Laws, upon which the Native Rights, of all the Subjects, seemed to have dependance. Besides, that possibly the Realm might hereby be annexed to some greater Kingdom: of which, in time, it would be reckoned for a Member, and consequently be reduced unto the Form of a Province, to the utter Subversion of the Antient Dignity, and Estate thereof. Which whensoever it should happen, it was neither impossible, nor improbable, that the People, upon a just Sense of the Indignities, & Pressures might elect some popular and seditious man to be their King, who, to countenance his own unworthiness, & obscurity, would little regard, what Contumelie he cast upon the falling Family of the Kings before him. To which, perchance some further Countenance might be added from the *Holy Scripture*: where *Solomon* is found to be preferred unto the Throne by *David*, before *Adonijah*; the youngest Son, before the eldest; a Child, before a Man experienced, and well grown in years. And some Examples also might be had of the like Transpositions, in the Realm of *Scotland*, in *Hungary*, *Naples*, and else where: enough to shew, that nothing had been done in this great Transaction, which was not to be presided in other Places. Upon all which Considerations, it was thought most agreeable to the Rules of Policy, that the King, by Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of *England*, should so dispose of the Possession of the *Crown*, (with such Remainders, and Reversions, as to him seemed best) as might prevent such Inconveniencies, and Emergent Mischiefs, as might otherwise happen: which could not better be effected, then by setting the *Crown* on the Head of the Lady *Jane*; a Lady of a Royal Blood, born in the Realm, brought up in the Religion now by Law established; Married already to a Person of Desert, and Honour; and such an one, in whom all those Graces were concentred, which were sufficient to adorn all the rest of Her Sex.

Thus Reasons being thus prepared, the next Care was, to have the Instrument so contrived in due form of Law, that nothing might be wanting in the Style and Legalities of it, which might make it any way obnoxious to Disputes, and Questions. For the doing whereof, it was thought necessary to call in the Assistance of some of the Judges, and others of His Majesties Council learned in the Laws of this Realm; by whose Authority it might be thought more passable amongst the People. Of all which Rank, none was thought fitter to be taken into the Consultation, then Sir *Edward Montague*; not onely as Chief Justice of the *Common Pleas*, and very well experienced in His own Profession: But because, he being one of the Executors of the King deceased, his concurrence, with the rest of the Council, seemed the more considerable. A Letter is therefore sent unto him on the eleventh of *June*, subscribed by the Lord Treasurer, the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Bedford*, and *Pembroke*, the Lord Admiral *Clinton*, the Lord *Darcie*, Sir *John Gale*, Sir *William Peter*, Sir *William Cecil*, and Sir *John Cheek*. By the Tenour whereof, he was commanded to attend upon their Lordships the next day, in the Afternoon, and to bring with him, Sir *John Baker*, Chancellor of the first Fruits and Tenths, Master Justice *Bromley*, together with the Attorneys, and Solicitors General. Being brought into the King's Presence, at the time appointed, whom they found attended by the Lord Treasurer, and some others of those, who had subscribed the former Letter: the King declared Himself with a weak Voice to this Effect, viz. That He had considered, in His Sickness, of the Estate of His Realm; which, if it should descend on the Lady *Mary*, who was then unmarried, it might so happen, that She might marry a Stranger born, whereby not onely the Laws of the Realm might be changed and altered, but all His own Proceedings in Religion, might be also reversed; That it was His Pleasure there-

fore,

fore, that the Crown should Descend, after His Decease, unto such Persons, and in such Form, as was contained in certain Articles, then ready to be shewed unto them, to be by them digested, and disposed of, in due Form of Law. An. 1553.

These Articles, when they had Perused, and Considered of, they signified unto the King, that they conceived them to be contrary to the Act of Succession; which, being made in Parliament, could not be Frustrated, or made Ineffectual but by Parliaments onely. Which Answer notwithstanding, the King, without allowing further time, or deliberation, commanded them to take the Articles along with them, and give the Business a Dispatch, with all speed as might be. But finding greater Difficulties in it, then had appeared unto their Lordships, they made a Report unto them at their next Attendance, that they had Considered of the King's Articles, and the Act of Succession; whereby it appeared manifestly, that, if they should make any Book concerning the King's Commandment they should not onely be in danger of Treason, but their Lordships also. The sum of which Report being certified to the Duke of Northumberland, (who, though absent, was not out of Call) he came in great Rage, and Fury, to the Council-Chamber, called the *Chief Justice* Traitor; affirmed, that he would fight in his Shirt, in that Quarrel, against any man living; and behaved himself in such an outrageous manner, as put both *Mountague*, and *Justice Bromely*, in a very great fear, that he would have struck them. Called to the Court again by a Letter of the fourteenth of the same Moneth, they found the King more earnest in it, then He was before; requiring them, with a sharp Voice, and a displeased Countenance, to dispatch the Book, according to the Articles delivered to them; and telling them, that He would have a Parliament shortly to Confirm the same. When nothing else would serve the turn, Answer was made, That His Commandment should be obeyed; upon Condition, that they might be Commissionated so to do by His Majestie's Warrant, under the Great Seal of England, and have a General Pardon for it, when the Deed was done.

Not daring longer to resist, and having made as good Provision, as they could, for their own Indemnity, they betook themselves unto the Work, digested it in form of Law, caused it to be Engrossed in Parchment, and so dispatched it for the Seal, to the Lord Chancellor *Goodrick*, sufficiently prepared before-hand not to stick upon it. But then appeared another Difficulty amongst the Lords of the Council: some of which, not well satisfied with these Proceedings, appeared as backward in Subscribing to the Instrument, before it went unto the Seal; as the Great Lawyers had done at the first, in being brought to the Employment. But such was the Authority, which *Dudley*, and his Party, had gained amongst them, that some for fear, and some for favour, did subscribe at last: a Zeal to the Reformed Religion prevailing in it upon some; a doubt of loosning their Church-Lands more powerfully over-swaying others; and all in fear of getting the displeasure of that Mighty Tyrant, who, by his Power, and Practices, carried all before him. The last, that stood it out, was Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*. Who, being sent for to the Court, when all the Lords of the Council, and most of the Judges of the Realm had subscribed the Instrument, refused to put his hand unto it, or to consent to the Disherison of the late King's Daughters. After much Reasoning of the Case, he requires a longer time of deliberation; consults about it with some of the most Learned Lawyers, and is finally sent for by the King: who, having fully set his heart upon the Business, did use so many Reasons to him, in behalf of Religion, and plied him with such strong Perswasions in pursuance of them; that at the last he suffered himself to be overcome by His Importunities, and so Subscribed it with the rest. Onely Sir *James Hales*, one of the *Justices* of the *Common-Pleas*, carried the Honour of a Resolute, and Constant Man: not onely from those of his own Rank, but even from all the Lords of the Council, and almost all the Peers of the Realm to boot; who, being a man observed to be both Religious, and upright, did very worthily refuse to Subscribe, and was afterwards as unworthily required by Queen *Mary* for it.

the tenth of the same Moneth. A Letter had been brought the night before from the Princess Mary, who had received Advertisment of Her Brother's Death: notwithstanding all their Care, and Diligence, in labouring to conceal it from His nearest Servants; which made them meet the earlier, and in greater numbers, to return an Answer thereunto. The Princess knew Her own Right, and the Wrong, which was intended to Her; both which She signified unto Them, in these following words.

My LORDS,

**W**E Greet You well; and have received sure Advertisment, that Our Dearest Brother, the King, Our late Sovereign Lord, is departed to God's Mercy. Which News how Wofull they be unto Our Heart, He onely knoweth, to whose Will, and Pleasure, We must, and do humbly submit Us, and Our Wills. But, in this so lamentable a Case, that is, to wit, after His Majestie's Departure, and Death, concerning the Crown, and Governace of this Realm of England, with the Title of France, and all things thereto belonging; What hath been provided by Act of Parliament, and the Testament, and Last Will of Our Dearest Father; besides other Circumstances Advancing Our Right; You know, the Realm, and the whole World knoweth: the Rolls, and Records appear, by the Authority of the King, Our said Father, and the King, Our said Brother, and the Subjects of this Realm. So that We verily trust, that there is no good true Subject, that is, can, or would pretend to be ignorant thereof; And of Our part, We have of Our selves caused, and as God shall aid, and strengthen Us, shall cause, Our Right, and Title in this behalf, to be Published, and Proclaimed accordingly. And albeit this so weighty a Matter seemeth strange, that the Dying of Our said Brother, upon Thursday at night, last past, we hitherto had no knowledge from You thereof; yet We consider Your Wisdom, and Prudence to be such, that having estsoons amongst You Debated, Pondred, and well Weighed this present Case, with Our Estate, Your Own Estate, the Common Wealth, and all Our Honours; We shall, and may conceive Great Hope, and Trust, with much assurance in Your Loyalty, and Service; and therefore for the time interpret, and take things, not to the worst, that Ye yet will, like Noble Men, work the best. Nevertheless We are not ignorant of Your Consultations, to Undo the Provisions made for Our Preferment; nor of the Great Hands, and Provisions forcible, wherewith You be Assembled, and Prepared: by Whom, and to What end, God, and You know; and Nature cannot, but fear some Evil. But be it, that some Consideration Politick, or whatsoever thing else, hath moved You thereto; yet, doubt ye not, My Lords, but We can take all these Your doings, in Gracious Part; being also Right-Ready to remit, and fully Pardon the same; and that to Eschew Bloodshed, and Vengeance, against all those, that can, or Will intend the same; trusting also assuredly, that Ye will take, and accept this Grace, and Vertue, in Good Part, as appertaineth; and that We shall not be Enforced to use the Service of other Our True Subjects, and Friends: which, in this Our Just, and Right Cause, God, in Whom all Our affiance is shall send Us. Wherefore, My Lords, We require You, and charge you, and every of You, of Your Allegiance, which You owe to God, and Us, and to none other: for Our Honour, and the Surety of Our Person, onely imploy Your selves; and forthwith, upon receipt hereof, cause Our Right, and Title to the Crown, and Governace of this Realm, to be Proclaimed in Our City of London, and other places, as to your Wisdoms shall seem Good, and as to this Case appertaineth; not failing hereof, as Our very Trust is in You. And this Our Letter, Signed with Our Hand, shall be your sufficient Warrant in that behalf.

Given under Our Signet, at Our Mannour of Kensington-Hall, the ninth of July, 1553.

X 2

This

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*An. 1533.* This Letter seemed to give their Lordships no other trouble, then the returning of an Answer. For well they knew, that She could do no less, then put up Her Claim; and they conceived that She was not in a condition for doing more. Onely it was thought fit to let Her know, what She was to trust to: the better to prevent such Inconveniencies, as might otherwise happen. And to that end an Answer was presently dispatched, under the Hands of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellour Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, the Dukes of Northumberland, and Suffolk; the Marquesses of Winchester, and North-hampton; the Earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Huntington, Bedford, and Pembroke; the Lords Cobham, and Darcie; Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir William Peter, Sir William Cecil, Sir John Cheek, Sir John Mason, Sir Edward North, Sir Robert Bowe. The Tenour whereof was as followeth.

M A D A M,

**W**E have received Your Letters the ninth of this Instant, Declaring Your Supposed Title, which You Judge Your Self to have to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and all the Dominions thereunto belonging. For Answer whereof this is to Advertise You, that for as much as Our Sovereign Lady Queen Jane is, after the Death of Our Sovereign Lord King Edward the Sixth, (a Prince of most Noble Memory) Invested, and Possessed with the just, and Right Title, in the Imperial Crown of this Realm; not onely by Good Order of Old Antient Laws of this Realm; but also by Our late Sovereign Lord's Letters Patents, Signed with His Own Hand, and Sealed with the Great Seal of England, in presence of most part of the Nobles, Counsellours, Judges, with divers others Grave, and Sage Personages, Assenting, and Subscribing the same: We must therefore, as of most Bound Duty, and Allegiance, and Assent unto Her said Grace, and to none other: except we should (which Faithfull Subjects cannot) fall into grievous, and unspeakable Enormities. Wherefore We can no less do, both for the quiet of the Realm, and You also; to advertise you, that for as much as the Divorce, made between the King of Famous Memory, King Henry the Eighth, and the Lady Katharine Your Mother, was necessary to be had, both by the Everlasting Laws of God, and also by the Ecclesiastical Laws, and the most part of the Noble, and Learned Universities in Christendom, and Confirmed also by the sundry Acts of Parliaments, remaining yet in Force, and thereby You justly made Illegitimate, and Un-heritable to the Crown Imperial of this Realm, and the Rules, and Dominions, and Possessions of the same; You will upon just consideration hereof, and of divers other Causes, Lawfull to be Alledged for the same, and for the just Inheritance of the Right Line, and Godly Order, taken by the late King, Our Sovereign Lord King Edward the Sixth, and agreed upon by the Nobles, and Greatest Personages aforesaid; Surcease by any pretence, to vex, or molest, any of Our Sovereign Lady Queen Jane Her Subjects, from their True Faith, and Allegiance, due unto Her Grace; assuring You, that if you will, for Respect, shew Your Self Quiet, and Obedient (as You ought) You shall find Us all, and several, ready to do You any Service, that We with Duty may; and be glad with Your quietness to preserve the Common State of this Realm, wherein You may be otherwise grievous Us, to Your Self, and to them.

And thus We bid You most Heartily well to fare, &c.

These Letters being thus dispatched, and no further danger seeming to be feared on that side, all things are put in Readiness against the coming of the Queen; who the same day, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, was brought

brought by water to the Tower; attended by a Noble Train, of both Sexes, from *Durham House* in the Strand, where She had been entertained, as a part of *Dudley's* Family, ever since Her Marriage. She could not be ignorant of that, which had been done in Order unto Her Advancement to the Royal Throne; and could not but conceive, that Her being Conducted to the Tower, in that Solemn manner, did portend somewhat, which looked toward a Coronation. But still She hoped, that either She should hear some Good News of the King's Recovery, or of the Altering of His Purpose; and that She might be suffered to enjoy those Divine Contentments, which she had found in the Repose of a Studious Life. But when She came into the presence of the two Dukes, Her Father, and Her Father-in-Law: She observed their Behaviour towards Her, to be very different from that, which they had used before. To put Her out of which Amazement, it was signified to Her by the Duke of Northumberland; That *The King was Dead*, and that He had Declared Her for His next Successour in the Crown Imperial; That This Declaration was Approved by all the Lords of the Council, most of the Peers, and all the Judges of the Land, which they had Testified by the Subscription of their Names, and all this Ratified, and Confirmed by Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of England; That The Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and some of the Principal Citizens had been spoke withal; by whom they were assured of the Fidelity of the rest of the City; That There was nothing Wanting, but Her Gratefull Acceptance of the High Estate, which God Almighty, the Sovereign Disposer of all Crowns, and Scepters, (never sufficiently to be thanked by Her, for so great a Mercy) had advanced Her to; That Therefore She should cheerfully take upon Her, the Name, Title, and Estate of Queen of England, France, and Ireland, with all the Royalties, and Prebeminencies to the same belonging; Receiving at their hands the First-Fruits of the Humble Duty (now tendered by them on their Knees) which shortly was to be payed to Her, by the rest of the Kingdom.

This Speech being ended, the poor Lady found Her Self in a great Perplexity, not knowing whether she Should more lament the Death of the King, or Her Adoption to the Kingdom: the first Loss not to be repaired, the next Care possible to be avoided. She looked upon the Crown, as a great Temptation; to resist which, She stood in need of all the Helps, which both Philosophy, and Divinity, could suggest unto Her. And She knew also, that such Fortunes, seldom knocked twice for entrance at the same Man's Gate: but that, if once refused, they are gone for ever. Taking some time therefore of Deliberation, She summoned a Council of Her pure Thoughts; by whose Advice, half drowned in Tears, (either as sorrowing for the King's Death, or fore-seeing Her own) She returned an Answer in these Words, or to this Effect; That *The Laws of the Kingdom, and Natural Right, standing for the King's Sister, She would beware of burthensing Her weak Conscience with a Yoke, which did belong to them; That She understood the Infamy of those, who had permitted the violation of Right to gain a Scepter; That it were to mock God, and deride Justice, to scruple at the Sealing of a Shilling, and not at the Usurpation of a Crown.*

Besides (said She) I am not so young, nor so little read in the Guils of Fortune, to suffer my self to be taken by them. If she enrich any, it is but to make them the Subject of her Spoil; If she raise others, it is but to pleasure her Self with their Ruins. What she adored but yesterday, is to day her Pastime. And, if I now permit her to adorn, and Crown me, I must to Morrow suffer her to crush, and tear me in pieces. Nay with What Crown doth she Present me. A Crown, which hath been Violently and Shamefully wrested from Katharine of Arragon; made more unfortunate by the Punishment of Ann Bulloign, and others, that wore it after Her. And why then would you have me add my Blood to theirs, and to be the third Victim, from Whom this Fatal Crown may be ravished with the Head that wears it? But in Case it should not prove Fatal unto me, and that all its Venom were consumed; if Fortune should give me Warranties of her Constancy: Should I be well advised

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*An. 1553.* *vised to take upon me these Thorns, which would dilacerate, though not kill me outright; to burthen my self with a Yoke, which would not fail to torment me, though I were assured not to be strangled with it? My Liberty is better, then the Chain you proffer me, With what pretious stones soever it be adorned, or of what Gold soever framed. I will not exchange my Peace for Honourable and pretious Jealousies, for Magnificent, and Glorious Letters. And, if you love me sincerely, and in good earnest, you will rather wish me a secure, and quiet Fortune, though mean, then an exalted Condition exposed to the Wind, and followed by some dismal Fall.*

It had been happy for Her self, Her Fathers, and their several Families, if they had suffered themselves to be overcome by such powerfull Arguments: which were not onely persuasive, but might seem convincing; had they not all been fatally hurried unto their own Destruction. But the Ambition of the two Dukes was too Strong, and Violent, to be kept down by any such prudent Considerations. So that being wearied at the last with their Impertinencies, and overcome by the entreaties of Her Husband, whom She dearly loved, She submitted unto that necessity, which She could not vanquish; yielding her Head with more unwillingness to the Ravishing Glories of a Crown, then afterwards She did to the Stroak of the Ax. The Point being thus concluded on, the two Dukes, with all the rest of the Lords of the Council, swore Allegiance to her. And on the same day, about five of the Clock in the afternoon, they caused Her Solemnly to be Proclaimed Queen of England, France, and Ireland, &c. in many of the principal Streets in London; and after by Degrees, in most of the Chief Cities, Towns, and Places of greatest Concourse, and Resort of People. In which Proclamation it was signified, That, by the Letters Patents of the late King Edward, bearing Date the twenty first of June last past, the Lady Jane Gray, Eldest Daughter to the Dukes of Suffolk, had been declared His true and lawfull Successour to the Crown of England, the same to be enjoyed after Her Decease, the Heirs of Her Body, &c. as in the said Letters Patents, more especially did at large appear. Which Proclamation, though it was published in the City with all due Solemnities, and that the Concourse of People was exceeding great, yet their Acclamations were but few; which served as a sufficient Argument to the Friends and Followers of the Princess Mary, that they were rather drawn together out of Curiosity to behold some unusual Spectacle, then out of any purpose to congratulate at the Queen's Advancement. And so far some of them declared their dislike thereof; that, the next Day, one Gilbert Poole was set on the Pillory in Cheapside, his Ears first nailed, and afterwards cut off, for certain words, which he had spoken at the Publishing of the Proclamation; a Trumpet sounding at the Time of the Execution, and an Herald in his Coat of Arms publicly noting his Offence in a Form prescribed. A Severity neither safe, nor necessary (the party being of no better Condition, then a Vintner's Boy) as the Case then stood.

For the next day the Lords received Advertisement from divers hands, that many persons of Quality were drawn together at Kenning-Hall-Castle in Norfolk to offer their Service and assistance, to the Princess Mary; who finding, by the Answer which She had received from the Lords of the Council, that no good was otherwise to be done, resolved not to be wanting to Her own Pretensions, and to that end gave chearfull Entertainment to all comers, which either favoured Her Title, or embraced Her Religion. Amongst such Gentlemen, as were certified to the Lords of the Council; I finde the names of the Earl of Bath, Sir Thomas Wharton, son to the Lord Wharton, Sir John Mordant, Son to the Lord Mordant, Sir William Drury, Sir John Shilton, Sir Henry Beddingfield, Mr. Henry Jenningsham, Mr. John Sulward, Mr. Richard Higham of Lincoln's-Inn. It was advertised also, that the Earl of Suffex, and Mr. Henry Ratcliff his Son, were coming towards Her with their Forces: which last Advertisement gave the Business some appearance of Danger; for what else was to be expected, but that the Countenance and Encouragement of so great

great a Person might draw many more unto the side; who otherwise would have been content to be lookers on, in case they had not moved against Her. Prevention, in such Cases, was the wholesomest Physick: which therefore was to be admitted, with all speed that might be, before those Companies increased, and were united under some Commander, which might gain them the Reputation of a little Army little at first, but like enough to become formidable to their Enemies, if not broken in time. Some Forces therefore to be sent under the Conduct, and Command, of some Person who was well affected to the Cause, to scatter those small Companies, before they grew unto an Head, to seize upon the Lady Mary, and bring Her with him to the Court, where they knew well enough how to make sure of her. For which Employment none more fit, then the Duke of Suffolk, who had the greatest Stock going in the present Adventure, and whose affection to the Queen, being raised out of the Bowels of Nature, would prompt him to dispatch the Service, with his utmost Diligence. And because possibly the Lady Mary, hearing of these Preparations, might fly for safety into Flanders, and create more Trouble to them there, then She could at home; it was thought necessary, that such Ships, as lay upon the Downs, should be Commanded to attend on the Coast of Norfolk, to intercept Her on the Way, if peradventure she should think of flying to the Emperor's Court.

So was it Counsell'd, and Concluded. But the matter could not be carried so close, as not to come to the Queen's Knowledge; to whom the least Drop of Her Father's Blood was far more precious, then all the Kingdoms in the World: so that, with Tears in Her Eys, and Voice as mournfull as Her Face, She besought such of the Lords, as She conceived to be most tenderly affected towards Her, to be Her Mediatours to the rest of the Council, that Her Father might be suffered to remain with Her; and that some other Man, more exercised in Deeds of Arms, might be sent out on that Employment. Nor was the Motion made in vain. For some there were, who secretly had as great a Mind to put Northumberland upon the Service; as She could be to have Her Father excus'd from it. They saw how things were like to go, and how generally the People were inclined to King Henrie's Children, and could not promise to themselves any long Security under that Power, which they had put into the hands of a weak young Lady, who must be altogether Governed by Duke Dudley's Counsels. Of whom they stood in so great fear, that none of them durst oppose his Doings, or steere their Course unto that Point, which most they aimed at, and which they doubted not to gain, if they could finde a Way to send him from the Council-Table. No way more probable, then this, and this they meant to husband to the best advantage, using their best Endeavours to persuade him to the Understanding of the present Service; For who, said they, can be so proper, as Your Grace, to undertake this Expedition into Norfolk, where Your late Victories hath made Your Name so Terrible to all Sorts of People, as may disperse them without Battail. For should the Matter come to Blows, (which God prohibit) what man so able as Your Self in the Art of War, the Order of Encamping, the putting of Your Men into such a Figure, as may best suit with the Advantages, which are offered to You; and animating the most Cowardly Souldiers, not onely by Your own Exemplary Valour, but by strong Perswasions? When have we in the Realm so dexterous in Point of Treaty, so able to persuade the Enemy to lay down Arms (which is the Noblest Way of conquering the true-born English) if once it came unto Parle, as they hoped it would. Besides the Queen had made it Her most earnest Suit, that Her Father might be spared to stay with Her, till those Terours, and Affrights, were over; and had moreover pointed out His Grace, as the abler Man, and more fit for Action; then which what can be further said, to prompt Your Grace to lay fast hold upon all opportunities, for obliging Her, who may hereafter finde so many Ways for obliging You.

Swelled with vain Glory, and tickled with the frequent mention of his dear Abilities, he suffered Himself to be entreated to an Action of such Fame, and Merit,

An. 1553. rit, as that, which they presented to him. \* And signifying his Assent, with a feigned Unwillingness, he told them; That He would make Ready his own Power on the morrow after, not doubting, but They would send Thiers with him, or speed them after him; That He must recommend the Queen unto Their Fidelity: of whose Sacred Person he desired Them to be very tender. All which they Promised him to do. And, having thus settled the Affairs, they made the Queen acquainted, in Northumberland's Presence, with how great readiness he had took the danger of that Action upon himself, to give Her the Contentment of enjoying Her Father's company, till the present storm was over-blown; who humbly thanked the Duke for so great a favour, and cheerfully desired him not to be wanting to the Publick and his personal safety. That evening, and the greatest part of the next day, being spent in Raising men, and making other necessary preparations for the Expedition; he repairs again to the Court, and once more putting them in mind of halting their Forces; and, appointing *New March* for the place of their Rendez-vous, he took his Leave of them. in these Words, or to this Effect. *My Lords* (said he) *I, and these other Noble Personages, with the whole Army, that now goes forth, as well for the behalf of You, and Yours, as for the Establishing of the Queen's Highness, shall not onely adventure our Bodies, and Lives, amongst the Bloody Strikes, and Cruel Assaults, of our Adversaries in the open Fields: but also we do leave the Conservation of our Selves, Children, and Families, at home here with You, as altogether committed to your Trust, and Fidelity. Whom, if we thought You would, through Malice, Conspiracy, or Dissension, leave us, Your Friends, in the Briars, and betray us; We could as well Sunday ways foresee, and provide for our own safe-guards, as any of You, by betraying us, can do for Yours. But now, upon the onely Trust, and Faithfulness of Your Honours, wherof we think our selves must assured we do hazard our Lives: which Trust, and Promise, if You shall Violate, hoping thereby of Life and Promotion; yet shall not God count You innocent of our Bloods, neither acquit You of the Sacred Holy Oath of Allegiance, made freely by You to this Virtuous Lady, the Queen's Highness: "Who, by Your, and Our Enticement, is rather of force placed therein, then by Her own seeking, and Request. Consider also, that God's Cause, which is the Preference of His Word, and the fear of the return of Poverty, hath been (as Ye have heretofore always said) the Original cause, whereupon Ye (even at the first motion) granted Your good Wills, and Consents thereunto, as by Your Hand-Writing appeareth. And think not otherwise, but that, if You mean deceit, though not forthwith, yet hereafter. God will revenge the same. I can say no more, but in this troublesome time Wish You to use constant hearts; abandoning all Malice, Envy, and private Affections.*

Which said, and having paused a little, he shut up his Address in these following Words. *I have not spoken to You, my Lords, in this sort, upon any mistrust I have of Your Fidelities; of which, always, I have ever hitherto, conceived a trusty Confidence: but I have onely put You in Remembrance thereof, What chance of Variance soever might grow amongst You in my absence. And this I pray You, that You would not wish me lest good speed in this Journey, then You would have to Your selves. To which last words, one of them is reported to have thus replied. My Lord, If You mistrust any of Us in this matter, Your Grace is much mistaken in us. For which of Us can wash his hands clean of the present Business; for, if we should shrink from You, as one that is culpable, which of Us can excuse himself, as being guiltless? Little the more assured by this quick return, he went to take his Leave of the Queen, where he found his Commission ready Sealed, together with certain Instructions, subscribed by all the Lords of the Council, in which his Marches were laid out, and Limited from one day to another. Conditions not to be imposed on any, who Commands in Chief; nor to have been accepted by him: but that it was a matter of his own desiring. And he desired it for these Reasons, (so strongly was he caught in a Snare of his own devising) partly because he would be thought to have*

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have Acted nothing, but by Authority of the Council, which he supposed might serve for his Indemnity, if the Tide should turn; and partly, that the blame of all M. scarriages might be laid on them, if he were foiled in the Adventure. But so instructed, he takes Leave, embraced by all the Lords, with great demonstrations of Affection, according to the wonted stimulation in Princes Courts; by none more passionately, then by those, who most abhorred his pride, and falshood. Amongst which it is said of the Earl of *Arundel*, (upon whom he had put more Disgraces, and Affronts, then on all the rest) that he seemed to express much sorrow at the Duke's departure; in regard he was not Ordered to be one of his Company, in whose presence he could finde in his heart to spend his blood, and to lay his life down at his feet. Accompanied with the Marquess of *North-hampton*, the Lord *Gray*, and others, he passeth by water in his Barge to *Dur-ham*-Place, and from thence to *White-Hall*, where they Mastered their men. And the next morning being *Friday*, the fourteenth of the Moneth, he sets forward with a Body of six hundred Horse, their Arms, and Ammunition being sent before; and Sir *John Gates* (of whose Fidelity, and Adhesion, he was well assured) following not far behind with the rest of his Company. Passing through *Shore-ditch*, he found the Streets to be thronged with People, but could hear nothing of their Prayers for his Prosperous Journey. Inasmuch, that, turning to the Lord *Gray*, he could not choose, but say unto him; *The People press to see us: but not one bids, God speed us.* On *Saturday*-night he comes to *Cambridge*, where he assured himself of all Obedience, and Conformity, which either the University, or that Town could give him: as being Chancellour of the one, and Sene-schal, or High-Steward of the other; two Offices incompatible in themselves, and never United in one person before, or since. At night he sends for Doctor *Edwin Sandys*, Master of *Katharine-Hall*, and Vice-Chancellour of the University, to Supper with him: whom he enjoyns to Preach before him the next day. A service not to be performed, and much less declined, without manifest danger. But the Good Man, submitting to the present necessity, betakes himself unto his Study, and his Prayers, falls on a Text exceeding proper to the present Exigent (being that of *Ioshuab*, chap. i. v. 16.) but handled it so Warily, and with such Discretion, that he much satisfied the one, without giving any just advantage against him to the other Party. On *Munday* Morning, the Duke, with his whole Power, goes forward to *St. Edmond's-Bury*, where he lodged that night. But, in stead of hearing News of those Supplies, which were to attend him at *New-Market*, he receives Letters from some Lords of the Council, so full of Trouble, and Discomfort, that he Marched back again to *Cambridge*, on the morrow after. And there we will leave him for a time, betwixt Hope, and Fear, less Confident, and worse Attended, then he was, at his first coming thither; as being not onely deserted by a great part of his company, but in a manner by himself.

In the mean time the Princess *Mary* was not idle: but served Her Self of all Advantages, which were offered to Her. Comforted, and encouraged by so many persons of Quality, as She had about Her. She sends unto the Mayour of *Norwich* on the Twelfth of *July*, requiring him, and the rest of the Magistrats of that City, to Proclaim Her Queen. Which though they at that time refused to do, because they had no certain knowledge of the Death of the King; yet, on the next day, having received good assurance of it, they did not onely Proclaim Her Queen, (as She had desired) but sent Her Men, and Ammunition to advance the service. Not finding *Norfolk* Men so forward as She had expected, She removes with Her small Party into *Suffolk*, and puts Her Self into *Framling-ham* Castle, a Castle situate near the Sea, from whence She might conveniently escape into *Flanders*, if Her Affairs succeeded not to Her Hopes, and Prayers. Here She first takes upon Her the Name of Queen, and by that Name dispatcheth Letters to the *Peers* of the Realm; requiring Them, and all other Her faithful Subjects, to repair unto Her Succour. And, for the first handful of good Fortune, it happened, that the six ships, which were appointed to hover on the Coast

An. 1553. of *Norfolk*, were driven by foul weather into the Haven of *Tarmonth*, where *Jerningham*, above-mentioned, was busie in Raising men, to Maintain Her Quarrel. By whom the Captains, and the Mariners, were so cunningly dealt with, that they put themselves under his Command, drew all their Ordnance on shore, and left their Ships to be disposed of at his pleasure. About which time Sir *Edward Hastings*, the brother of *Francis* Earl of *Huntington*, being Commissioned by the Duke of *Northumberland* to Raise four thousand men for the present Service, pass'd over with his men to the other side, and joyned himself to Her Party also. The News whereof being brought unto the *Lords*, which remained in *London*, hastened the Execution of that Design, which had been formerly contrived by some amongst them.

For no sooner had the Great Duke put himself on his March toward *Cambridge*, but some began to shew themselves in favour of the Princess *Mary*, and to devise how they might extricate themselves out of those perplexities, into which they had been brought by his Ambition. Amongst which none more forward, then the Earl of *Pembroke*, in whom he had placed more Confidence, then in all the others. Who, together with Sir *Thomas Chyney*, Lord Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*; with divers others, endeavoured to get out of the *Tower*, that they might hold some secret Consultation with their Friends in *London*: but were so narrowly watched, that they could not do it. On *Sunday*, the sixteenth of the Moneth, Doctour *Nicholas Ridley*, Bishop of *London*, is ordered by the *Lords* of the Council, to Preach at St. *Paul's* Cross, and in his Sermon to Advance the Title of *Queen Jane*, and shew the invalidity of the Claim of the Lady *Mary*. Which he performed according to such Grounds of Law, and Polity, as had been laid together in the Letters Patents of King *Edward*, by the Authority; and Consent of all the *Lords* of the Council, the greatest Judges in the Land, and almost all the Peers of the Kingdom. But then, withall, he press'd the Incommodities, and Inconveniencies, which might arise, by receiving *Mary* for their Queen; prophesying that, which after came to pass: Namely, that She would bring in a Foreign Power to Reign over this Nation; and that She would subvert the True Religion, then Established by the Laws of this Realm. He also shewed, that, at such time as She lived in his Diocese, he had Travailed much with Her, to reduce Her to the True Religion; but that (though otherwise She used him with great Civility) She shewed Her self so stiff, and obstinate, that there was no hope to be conceived, but that She would disturb, and destroy all that, which with such great Labour had been settled in the Reign of Her Brother. For which Sermon he incurred so much displeasure, that it could never be forgiven him, when the rest were Pardoned: by whose Encouragement, and Command, he had undertook it. But this Sermon did not work so much on the People, as the ill News, which came continually to the *Tower*, had prevailed on many of the *Lords*. For presently, upon that of the six Ships, which were Revolted from the Queen, Advertisement is given, that the Princess *Mary* was Proclaimed Queen in *Oxford* Shire by Sir *John Williams*, and others; in *Buckingham* Shire by the Lord *Windfore*, Sir *Edward Hastings*, &c. and in *Northampton* Shire by Sir *Thomas Tresham*. And, which was worse then all the other, that the Noble-Mens Tenants refused to serve their *Lords* against Her.

Upon the first bruit of which Disasters, the Lord Treasurer *Paulet* gets out of the *Tower*, and goes unto his House in *Broad-street*; which made such a powerfull apprehension of some dangerous practises to be suddenly put in Execution, that the Gates of the *Tower* were locked about seven of the Clock, and the Keys carried to the Queen. And though the Lord Treasurer was brought back about twelve at night, yet now the knot of the Confederacy began apparently to break. For, finding by intelligence from so many Parts of the Realm, but chiefly by the Lord Treasurer's return, that generally the People were affected to the Title of the Princess *Mary*, they thought it most expedient for them

them, to Declare themselves in Her Favour also, and not to run themselves, their Friends, and Families, on a certain Ruin. But all the Difficulty was, in finding out a way, to get out of the *Tower*: the *Gates* whereof were so narrowly watched: that no man could be suffered to go in, and out; but by the Knowledge, and Permission of the Duke of *Suffolk*. But that, which their own Wisdom could not, the Duke of *Northumberland's* Importunity effected for them; who, failing of the Supplies, which the *Lords* had promised to send after him, as before is said, had pressed them earnestly, by his Letters, not to be wanting to their own Honour, and the Publick Service. This gave them a fair Colour to procure their Liberty from that Restraint, by representing to the *Queen*, and the Duke Her Father, that the Supplies expected, and all things necessary to the same, could not be raised, unless they were permitted personally to attend the Business; both for the Pressing of the Men, providing them of all things needfull, and choosing fit Commanders, to Conduct them in good Order to the Duke of *Northumberland*. Which seemed so reasonable to the Duke of *Suffolk*, a Man of no great Depth himself, and so not like to penetrate into the bottom of a deep Design; that he gave way to their Departure for the present: little conceiving, that they never meant to come back again, till the State was altered.

Being thus at their desired Liberty, the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, and *Pembroke*, together with Sir *Thomas Cheyny*, and Sir *John Mason*, betake themselves immediately to *Baynard's Castle*: an House belonging then (as now) to the Earls of *Pembroke*. To which Place they were followed, not long after, by almost all the rest of the Lords of the *Council*; bringing with them as many of the Nobility, then about the Town, as they conceived to stand fair for the *Princess Mary*. And, that the Meeting might be held with the less Suspicion, it was given out to be upon a Conference with *Laval*, the *French* Ambassadour, about Affairs of great Importance for the Weal of both Kingdoms. No sooner had they took their Places: but the Earl of *Arundel*, who had held Intelligence with the *Princess*, ever since the first Extremities of Her Brother's Sicknes, inveighed most bitterly against the Duke of *Northumberland*. "And, after he had ripped up the Acts of his former Life, and burthened him with all, that had been done unjustly, cruelly, or amiss, in King *Edward's* Time; he at last descends to the Treacherous Act of the Disherison of the Children of the late King *Henry*; professing, that he wondred, how he had so enthralled such persons, as the Lords there present, as to make them Instruments of his Wickedness. For was it not, saith he, by Our Consent, and Suffrages; that the Duke of *Suffolk's* Daughter, the same *Northumberland's* Daughter-in-Law, hath took upon Her the Name, and Title, of Queen of England: though it be nothing, but the Title; the Sovereign Power remaining wholly in the Hands of *Dudley*, who contrived the Plot, that he might freely exercise his Tyranny on our Lives, and Fortunes. Religion is indeed the thing pretended. But suppose we have no regard to these Apostolical Rules; Evil most not be done, that Good may come thereof; and, We must obey even evil Princes; not for Fear, but for Conscience-sake: Yet, how doth it appear, that the *Princess Mary* intends any Alteration in Religion? Certainly, having been lately Petitioned to in this Point by the *Suffolk-men*, She gave them a very hopefull Answer. And what a mad Blindness is it, for the avoidance of an uncertain Danger, to precipitate Our selves into a most certain Destruction? I would we had not erred in this kind. But Errors past cannot be recalled: some may peradventure be amended; wherein speedy Execution oft-times happily supplieth former Defects. Recollect Your selves then, and so make use of Your Authority, that the *Princess Mary*, the undoubtedly Lawfull Heir, may publicly be Proclaimed Queen of England, &c. No other way, but this, as the Case now stands, to recover our lost Honours, and preserve the State.

The Earl of *Pembroke* was a man altogether unlettered, but so well skilled in humouring King *Henry the Eighth*, that he had raised Himself to a great Estate; for which he could not but express some sense of Gratitude, in doing

An. 1553. good Offices for his Children. And having formerly been suspected to have had too great a part in *Northumberland's* Countels, he conceived himself obliged to wipe off that Stain, by declaring his Zeal, and Resolution in the Cause of the Princess. And, therefore, as soon as the Earl of *Arundel* had concluded his Speech, he very cheerfully professed, that he approved, and would subscribe the Proposition, and therewithall laying his Hand upon his Sword, he signified his Readiness, and Resolution to defend the Lady *Marie's* Cause against all Opponents. The rest of the Lords, encouraged by these good Examples, and seeing nothing, but apparent Danger on all sides, if they did the contrary, came to a speedy Conclusion with them, and bound themselves to stand together, in Defence of the late King's Sisters, against all their Enemies. Which being thus so generously and unanimously agreed upon, a Messenger is presently dispatched to the Lord Mayour, requiring him to repair to *Baynard's-Castle* within an hour: and to bring with him the Recorder, and such of the Aldermen of the City, as to him seemed best. Who being come accordingly at the time appointed; their Lordships told them, in few words, as well their Resolution, as their Reason of it: and so desired their Company to *Cheapside-Cross* to Proclaim Queen *Mary*. Which said, without any further Dispute about the Title; they rode all together in good order, through *Saint Paul's-Church-Yard*; till they came to the Gate, which openeth into the Street: where they found such Multitudes, and Throngs of People; whom the Noise of such a Confluence at *Baynard's-Castle*, and the going down of the Lord Mayour, and Aldermen, had drawn together; that they could hardly force a Way through them to come to the Cross. But being come thither at the last, though with much ado, Sir *Christopher Barker*, Knight of the Bath, and Principal King at Arms, Proclaimed, by the Sound of Trumpet, the Princess *Mary*, Daughter of King *Henry the Eighth*, and Queen *Katharine*, His Wife, to be the Lawfull, and Undoubted Queen of *England, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, adding thereto that Sacred Title of *Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England*: which She retained till the beginning of the following Parliament, and then rescinded all those Acts, by which it had been formerly united to the Crown of this Realm. The Proclamation being ended, they went together in a Solemn Procession, to *Saint Paul's Church*, where they caused the *Te Deum* to be sung, with the Rights accustomed, and so dismissed the Assembly to their several dwellings. Being returned to *Baynard's-Castle*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget*, are presently dispatched to *Framlingham*, with thirty Horses, to give the Queen a Narrative of their whole Proceedings. Some Companies are also sent to assure the Tower, and to Command the Duke of *Suffolk*, to discharge the Family, and Attendants, of the Lady *Jane*, to signify unto Her, that She must lay aside the Name, and Title of Queen, and suffer Her Self to be reduced to the Rank of a private Person. All which, he readily obeyed (as easily subject to Despair, as before he had been swelled with Ambitious Hopes) and the next day adjoyns himself to the rest of the Council, subscribing amongst others to such Instructions, as were to be dispatched to the Duke of *Northumberland*, for the disbanding of his Forces; and carrying himself like an obedient, and dutifull Subject, as he ought to do.

But there was little need of this last Message, and none at all of the other. For the noise of these loud Acclamations, which were made at the Proclaiming of the new Queen, passing from one Street to another, came at last to the Tower, before the Message had been sent to the Duke of *Suffolk*, where they were heard by the Lady *Jane* (now no longer Queen) with such Tranquillity of Mind, and Composedness of Countenance; as if She had not been concerned in the Alteration. She had before received the offer of the Crown, with as even a Temper, as if it had been nothing, but a Garland of Flowers: and now She lays aside the thought thereof with as much concernedness, as She could have thrown away that Garland, when the sent was gone. The time of her Glo-

ries

ries was so short, but a *nine Days Wonder*; that it seemed nothing but a *Dream*, *An. 1553.*  
out of which She was not sorry to be awakened. The *Tower* had been to Her a *Prison*, rather than a *Court*, and interrupted the Delights of Her former Life by so many Terrours; that no day passed without some new Alarms to disturb Her Quiet. She doth now know the worst that Fortune can do unto Her. And having always feared, that there stood a Scaffold secretly behind the Throne, She was as readily prepared to act her Part upon the one, as upon the other. If Sorrow, and Affliction did at any time invade Her Thoughts, it was rather in reverence to Her Friends, but most of all unto Her Husband, who were to be involved in the Calamity of Her Misfortunes; then upon any Apprehensions, which She had for Her Self. And hereunto the bringing in of so many Prisoners, one day after another, gave no small Encrease: brought hither for no other Reason, but because they had seemed forward in contributing towards Her Advancement. In the midst of which Disconsolations, the restoring of the *Duke*, Her Father, to his former Liberty gave some Repose unto Her Mind; whose Sufferings were more grievous to Her, than Her own Imprisonment. And then to what a miserable Extremity must his Death have brought Her? And though the Attainder, and Death, of the Duke of *Northumberland*, which followed very shortly after, might tell Her in Effect, what She was to trust to; yet She was willing to distinguish betwixt his Case, and Her own; betwixt the Principal, and the Accessories, in the late Design. In which Respect She gave Her self no improbable Hopes; that possibly the like Mercies, which was shewed to Her Father, might possibly be extended unto others, and amongst others to Her Husband, as innocent as Her self, from any open Practice against the *Queen*. And who could tell, but that it might descend on Her self at last? whom no Ambition of Her own had tempted to the acceptance of that Dangerous Offer, which She beheld as the greatest Errour of Her Life, and the onely Stain of all Her Actions.

But neither the *Queen's* Fears, nor the publick Justice of the Land, could so be satisfied. It was held Treason to accept of a Kingdom offered: to which She could pretend no Right; whilst the *Queen* was living. And, if Examples of that Nature should pass unpunished, no Prince could possibly be safe, nor Titles valid, as long, as any Popular Spirit could pretend a Colour to advance some other to the Throne. Upon which Reason of State She was brought to Her Trial at the *Guild-Hall* in *London*, on the third of *November*, accompanied with Her Husband, the Lord *Guilford Dudley* (his Company never, till that Hour, unwelcome to Her) together with Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, the Lord *Ambrose Dudley*, the second Son, then living, to the Duke of *Northumberland*. Sentence of Death passed upon them all: though at that time not executed upon any of them. The Lord *Ambrose* was reserved unto better Fortunes: as the Arch-Bishop was to a more miserable, but more Glorious Death. And for Her self, and Her dear Husband, it was conceived; that, now the Law had done its part in their Condemnation, the *Queen* in pity of their Youth, and Innocence, would have gone no further. But, as they were first brought under this Affliction, by the inordinate Ambition of the Duke of *Northumberland*; so shall they shortly find an end of all their Troubles, by the rash and unadvised Attempts of the Duke of *Suffolk*. For upon *Wyat's* breaking out in *Kent*, and the Earl of *Devonshire* in the *West*, the Duke had been prevailed with, amongst many others, to appear in the Action. To which he unadvisedly yielded, caused Proclamation to be made in some Towns of *Leicester-Shire*, against the *Queen's* intended Marriage with the *Prince of Spain*, and drew together many of his Friends, and followers, to oppose that Match. And though he was discomfited, within few days after; yet the *Queen* saw, that she could promise Her self neither Peace, nor Safety; as long as the *Lady Jane* was preserved alive. Whose Restoration to the Throne must be the matter chiefly aimed at, in these Insurrections; though other Colours were devised, to disguise the Business.

Her Death is now resolved upon; but first She must be practised with to change



An. 1553. change Her Religion; as the Great Duke of Northumberland had done before. To which end *Fackham* is employed: not long before made *Dean* of *Saine Paul's*, and not long after *Abbot* of *Westminster*; a Man, whose great Parts promised him an easie Victory over a poor Lady of a broken, and dejected Spirit: but it proved the contrary. For so well had She studied the Concernments of Her own Religion; and managed the Conference with him, with such a readines of Wit, such constancy of Resolution, and a Judgment so well-grounded in all helps of Learning: that She was able to make Answer to his strongest Arguments; as well to Her great Honour, as his Admiration. (The Substance of which Conference he, that lists to see, may finde it in the *Acts, and Monuments*, fol. 1296.) So that, not able to prevail with Her in the Change of Religion, he made offer of his Service to prepare Her for Death: which though She thankfully accepted of, as finding it to proceed from a good Affection; yet soon he found, that She was also before hand with him in those Preparations, which are fit, and necessary for a dying Christian. Friday; the ninth of February, was first designed for the Day of Her Execution; but the Desire of gaining Her to the Church of *Rome* procured Her the short *Respite* of three Days more. On Sunday-night; being the Eve unto the Day of Her Translation, She wrote a Letter in the *Greek Tongue*, at the end of the Testament, which She bequeathed as a Legacy to Her Sister the Lady *Katharine*; which being such a lively Picture of the Excellent Lady, may well deserve to be continually kept in Remembrance of Her, and is this, that followeth.

I have here sent you (Good Sister *Katharine*) a Book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with Gold, yet inwardly it is more worth, then precious Stones. It is the Book (Dear Sister) of the Law of the Lord. It is his Testament, and last Will, which he bequeathed unto us, Wretches; which shall lead you to the path of eternal Joy, and, if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest mind do purpose to follow it, it shall bring you to an immortal, and everlasting Life. It shall teach you to live, and learn you to die. It shall win you more, then you should have gained by the possession of your wofull Father's Lands. For as, if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his Lands: so, if you apply diligently this Book, seeking to direct your Life after it, you shall be an inheritor of such Riches; as neither the Covetous shall withdraw from you, neither Thief shall steal, neither yet the Moths corrupt. Desire with *David* (Good Sister) to understand the Law of the Lord God. Live still to die, that you (by Death) may purchase eternal Life; and trust not, that the tenderest of your Age shall lengthen your Life: for as soon, if God calls, goeth the young, as the old; and labour always to learn to die. Defie the World: Deny the Devil: and Despise the Flesh; and Delight your self onely in the Lord. Be penitent for your Sins, and yet Despair not. Be strong in Faith, and yet presume not, and desire, with *Saint Paul*, to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, with whom; even in Death, there is Life. Be like the good Servant, and even at Midnight be waking; lest, when Death cometh, and stealeth upon you, like a Thief in the night, you be with the evil Servant sound sleeping; and left, for lack of Oyl, you be found like the five foolish Women, and like him, that had not on the wedding-Garment; and then ye be cast out from the Marriage Rejoyce in Christ, as I do. Follow the Steps of your Master Christ, and take upon you your Cross. Lay your Sins on his Back, and always embrace him. And, as touching my Death, rejoyce, as I do (good Sister) that I shall be delivered of this Corruption, and put on Incorruption. For I am assured, that I shall, for losing of a mortal Life, win an immortal one. The which I pray God to grant you, and (end you of his Grace, to live in his Fear, and to die in the true Christian Faith: from the which in God's Name, I exhort you, that you never swerve, neither for Hope of Life, nor for Fear of Death. For, if you will deny his Truth, to lengthen your Life, God will deny you, and yet shorten your Days: and if you will cleave unto him, he will prolong your Days to your Comfort, and to his Glory. To the which Glory God

God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it pleaseth him to call you. Fare An. 1553.  
you well (Good Sister) and put your onely trust in God, Who onely must help  
you.

The Fatal Morning being come, the Lord Guilford earnestly desired the Officers, that He might take His Farewell of Her. Which though they willingly permitted; yet, upon notice of it, She Advised the contrary; assuring Him, "That such a meeting would rather add to His Afflictions, then encrease that Quiet, wherewith they had possessed their souls for the stroke of Death, that He demanded a Lencive, which would put fire into the Wound; and that it was to be feared Her Presence would rather weaken, then strengthen Him that He ought to take courage from his Reason, and derive constancy from his own heart, that if his soul were not firm, and settled, She could not settle it by Her eys, nor confirm it by Her words; that He should do well to remit this Interview to the other World, that there indeed Friendships were happy, and Unions undefolable; and that theirs would be Eternal, if their souls carried nothing with them of Terrestrial, which might hinder them from rejoycing. All She could do was to give Him a Farewell out of a Window, as He passed toward the place of His dissolution: which He suffered on the Scaffold on Tower-Hill with much Christian meekness. His Dead body being lai'd in a Car, and His Head wrapped up in a Linen-cloth, were carried to the Chapel within the Tower; in the way to which, they were to pass under the Window of the Lady Jane, where She had given Him His Farewell. A Spectacle sufficient to disanimate a courageous Heart, not armed with the Constancy, and Resolution of so brave a Vertue. The Spectacle endured by Her with the less Astonishment, because She knew, She was upon the point of meeting with Him in a better Conjunction; where they should never finde the like Intermision of their Joys, and Happineses.

It was once resolved on by the Courts, that She should dy on the same Scaffold with Her Husband: but it was feared, that, being both pittied, and beloved by the common People, some suddain Commotion might be raised; if She were publicly brought forth to Her Execution. It was therefore held the safer course, that a Scaffold should be erected for Her within the Verge of the Tower: on which She might satisfy the greatest severity of the Law without any danger to the State. Towards which being to be led by Sir John Gage (who was then Constable of the Tower) he desired Her to bestow some small Gift upon him, to be kept as a Memorial of Her. To gratifie which desire She gave him Her Table-Book: in which She had written three Sentences in Greek, Latine, and English, as She saw Her Husband's Body brought unto the Chapel; which She besoughe him to accept as Her last Bequest. The Greek to this effect: That, If His Executed Body should give Testimony against Her before men; His most blessed Soul should give an eternal Proof of Her Innocence in the presence of God: the Latine added; that Humane Justice was against His Body; but the Divine Mercy would be for His Soul: and then concluded thus in English, that, If Her faults deserved Punishment, Her Youth, at least, and Her Imprudence, were worthy of Excuse; and that God, and Posterity, would show Her Favour.

Conducted by Feckman to the Scaffold, She gave not much heed unto his Discourses; but kept Her Eyes upon a Prayer-Book of Her own. And, being mounted on the Throne, from which She was to receive a more excellent Crown, then any, which this vile Earth could give Her, She addressed Her self in some few words to the standers by; letting them know, that Her Offence was not for having lay'd Her Hand upon the Crown, but for not rejecting it with sufficient Constancy. That She had less erred through Ambition, then out of Respect, and Reverence to Her Parents; acknowledging nevertheless, that Her Respect was to be accounted as a Crime, and such Reverence, to deserve a Punishment; That She would willingly admit of Death, so to give satisfaction to the injured State; that, by Obedience to the Laws, She might voluntarily take off the Scandal, which She had given

An. 1553. given by Her constrained Obedience to Her Friends, and Kindred; concluding finally, that She had justly deserved this Punishment, for being made the Instrument (though the unwilling Instrument) of another's Ambition; and should leave behind Her an Example, that Innocence excuseth not great Misdeeds; if they any way tend to the Destruction of the Common-Wealth. Which said, and desiring the people to recommend Her, in their Prayers, to the mercies of God, She caused Her self to be disrobed by some of Her Women, who with wet Eyes, and heavy Hearts, performed that Office, which was to Her no more unwelcome, then if it had been nothing, but the preparation to the Death of Sleep, and not unto the Sleep of Death. And being now ready for the Block, with the same clear, and untroubled Countenance, wherewith She had acted all the rest of Her Tragedy, She said aloud the Psalm of *Miserere mei, Deus*, in the English Tongue: and so submitted Her pure Neck to the Executioner.

Touching the Bonds, Recognisances, Grants, Conveyances, and other Legal Instruments, which had been made in the short Reign of this Queen, a doubt was raised amongst our Lawyers, whither they were good, and valid in the Law, or not. The Reason of which Scruple was, because that Interval of time, which passed between the Death of King Edward, on the sixth of July, and the Proclaiming of Queen Mary in all Parts of the Realm, was in the Law to be esteemed, as a part of Her Reign, without any notice to be taken of the interposing of the Lady Jane: in the first year of whose Reign, the said Bonds, Recognisances, Grants, &c. had their several Dates. And thereupon it was Enacted in the following Parliament, That all Statutes, Recognisances, and other Writings whatsoever, knowledged, or made, by, or to any Person, or Persons, Bodies Politick, or Corporate, being the Queen's Subjects, since the sixth day of July last past, untill the first day of August then next following, under the Name of the Reign of any other Person, then under the Name of the said Queen's Majesty, with the Stile appropriated, or united to Her Majesty's Imperial Crown, shall be as good, and sufficient in the Law, to all intents, purposes, constructions, and meanings, as, if upon the making thereof, the Name of the said Queen Mary, with Her Stile appropriated, had been fully, and plainly expressed in the same. With a Proviso notwithstanding, that all Grants, Letters Patents, and Commissions, made by the said Lady Jane to any Person, or Persons whatsoever, should be reputed void, and of none effect. Which Proviso seems to have been added, not onely for the making void of all such Grants of the Crown-Lands, as had passed in the Name of the said Queen Jane (if any such Grants were ever made) but for invalidating the Commission granted to the Duke of Northumberland for raising Arms in Her behalf. The pleading whereof though it could not be allowed for his Indemnity, when he stood at the Bar, might possibly have raised some Reproach, or Trouble, to his Peers, and Judges, if the Integrity of their Proceedings had been called in Question.

Such was the end of the short Life, but far shorter Reign, of the Lady Jane. Her Reign but of nine Days, and no more: Her Life not twice so many years, as She Reigned days. Such was the end of all the Projects of the two great Dukes, for Her Advancement to the Crown, and their own in Hers. To which as She was raised without any Blows; so She might have been deposed without any Blows: if the Ax had not been more cruel on the Scaffold, then the Sword in the Field. The Sword had never been unsheathed: but when the Scaffold was once Erected, and the Ax once sharpened, there followed so many Executions after one another, till the Death of that Queen; that, as Her Reign began in the Blood of those, who took upon them the pursuit of this Lady's Title; so was it ended more foully in the Blood of such, as were Martyred in all parts for Her Religion. To the Relation of which Executions, Deaths, and Martyrdoms, and other the Calamities of that Tragical, and unprosperous Reign, we must next proceed.